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CLASSICS

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The Classics so far

BY PETER LEVI

then to observe that Latin drew in Greek at the Renaissance. The conception which is or was so common in English schools, that Greek poetry and sculpture and architecture are conatural to British children because they are the basis of the most vital European tradition, is not only an illusion but a very recent illusion. Any knowledge of Greek things and a Greek spirit we possess is ours because we or our fathers chose to possess it and sweated for it.

The literary study of Greek originals took root in England in the sixteenth century, but it was not sufficiently widespread to influence English poetry in any important way until the time of Milton. The Greek classics known to Shakespeare appear to have been classics in translation. Little Latin and less Greek probably underestimates Shakespeare's Latin and overestimates his Greek. Without Greek the study of Latin makes curiously little sense, and it may be that some of the unprofitable lines that English poets followed right down to the time of Pope, particularly the phoney notions of the epic and the sublime, are the natural results of taking Latin instead of Greek examples. Even Ovid, with his inimitable richness and brilliance and his variety of tone and texture, is easier to understand at a technical level in a context of Greek Hellenistic poetry. What is least useful in Ovid for English poets and least attractive to a wide-awake reader, is his clever smoothness, the characteristic of much admired in 19th-century

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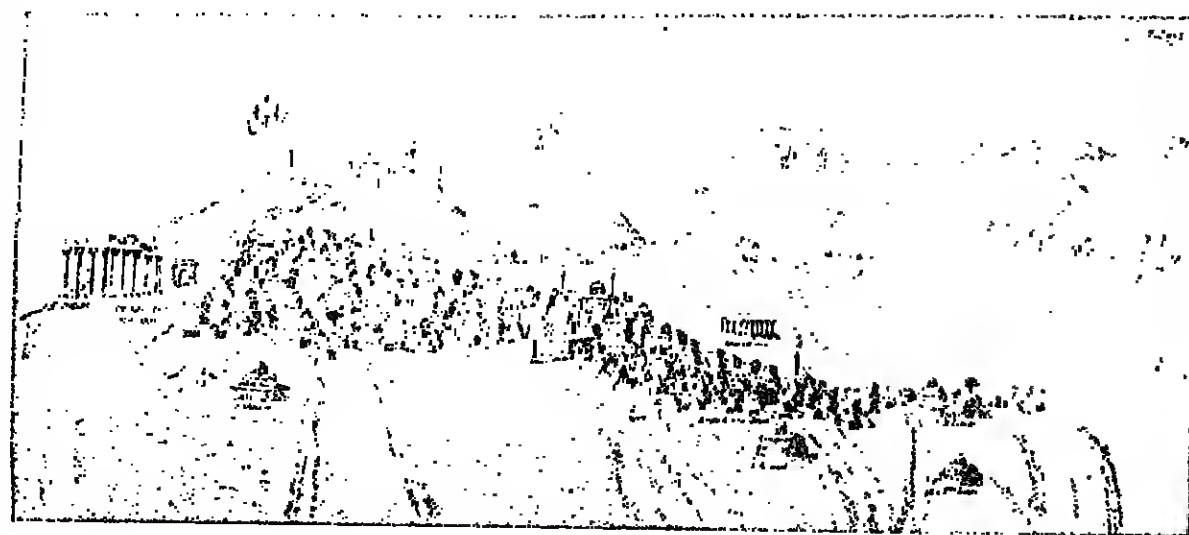
Scaliger, who detested and resented Greek studies and believed Ovidian on fish to be the only Greek poetry of real merit; and this view of Ovid and indeed of the proper nature and texture of poetry existed and did harm also in England. The simplicity of Homer was early recognized; he was loved from the beginning, visible even beneath Chapman's appalling embellishments, though his popularity grew and his absolute mastery was acknowledged only with the spreading of the knowledge of Greek.

Milton's generation was the turning-point. A little earlier, most English Latin scholarship had been somewhat shallow, and most English Greek scholarship had been ecclesiastical. In the notes of the committee that revised the early drafts of the Authorized Version of the Bible, there is more evidence of an intelligent command of Latin than of Greek, even in the case of the Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge. Milton's Greek was excellent; his annotations in his small *Euphrosyne*, which is now in the Bodleian, are impressive and moving. It is an odd thought that he was on his way to Greece as a young man when the English Civil War broke out. Had his journey been carried through without any tragic accident, he must inevitably have become the founder of Greek archaeology. As it was, the first scholarly and serious travellers were a generation later. Dr. Spon of Lyons, Sir George Wheler, and Francis Verney, who died in Turkey and whose Greek journal still lies unpublished in the Royal Society library.

This was already the generation of Bentley, and English literary scholarship had come of age, not without a touch of the brisk intolerance associated with that process. It was against Bentley that the most astonishing indictment ever framed in English against classical scholars was directed, by Swift in *The Battle of the Books*:

His armour was patched up of a thousand incoherent pieces, and the sound of it, as he marched, was loud and dry. . . the malignity of his temper pervaded his nature; thy learning makes thee more barbarous, thy study of humanity more inhuman, thy converse among poets, more grovelling, myrtle and dull. All arts of civilizing others render thee rude and intractable; courts have taught thee ill manners, but polite conversation has finished thee a peasant.

It will be seen that a good deal of this splendid invective is personal to Bentley's character, although there are few classical scholars who have not at some time thought in similar terms about one or other of their colleagues. It should also be remembered that the abusive speech is put



The bombardment from the East, an engraving based on a drawing by Captain Cuvellier, an engineer in the invading army. Both illustrations are from *The Carrey Drawings of the Parthenon Sculptures*, edited by Theodore Bowie and Dieter Thimme (98pp, Indiana University Press: AUPG, 112).

into the mouth of J. J. Scaliger, one of the greatest classical scholars of all time, and above all one should not forget that in this controversy Bentley was right. He was a professional in action against gentlemanly dilettanti; of these two classes it is of course hard to decide which in the past two and a half centuries, has done the more harm to a true understanding of Greek and Latin literature.

The gentry had sponsored their columns and classicalized their houses long before Greek antiquities were well known; when the first accurate publication of the Parthenon was issued in London, it is significant that the expedition to obtain true records had been sent by the British colony in Italy. The result of the publication was a visible increase in rigour, and the triumph of a severe Doric style. When the Elgin marbles—by an act of wanton criminality and after a devastation of Athens too appalling to talk about even now—came to England, the result once again was like an invigorating wind. Artists as different as Blake and Delacroix learnt lessons from the same stones, and the art of sculpture was affected, as that of drawing has been by the comparatively new study of Greek vase-painting. Once again the Roman imitations known earlier had been a delusion and had done harm, with the single exception of Roman portrait sculpture, which at its early best is a unique case of the perfect interpenetration of Greek and Roman traditions, just as in our literature the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* of Virgil and the poetry of Horace have been a fruitful influence for a similar reason. Richard Westmacott, replying to the parliamentary committee on the purchase of the Elgin marbles, put very sharply the benefit

which seems to me at the heart of the influence of Greek originals on all the arts in England: "We have every reason to think, that even the present men, as well as young men rising up, having these things to look to, are less likely to be mannered." It is roughly what Pope is talking about, in a context of the art of his own time, when he says that Homer is like nature.

Gibbon's reference to the port and prejudice of Oxford is stolen from Pope, and it is possibly truer of the seventeenth century in English universities than of the eighteenth, when among a great deal of political venom, eccentricity and sloth—qualities easy to discover in any celibate community—scholarly enterprise undoubtedly existed. It was the period of which Porson's remark about another scholar seems characteristic, that he was as furious against Greek accents as he was against the Trinity. Porson's own ambitions were limited but very decent, and they have been fulfilled. He hoped it might be remembered after centuries, that someone called Porson had lived at the end of the eighteenth century, who had done something for the text of Euripides.

It would be ridiculous to write about British classical scholarship without facing the question of textual criticism. It was inevitable that a high proportion of the best linguistic and where it existed—literary critical talent that was to be found among classical scholars should be devoted to the purification of classical texts, not to there any better criterion for one's understanding of an author than one's ability to know intuitively or by a process of argument what he would or would not have written. Excellent emendations in well known texts are still made today. But it was also inevitable that among second-rate

scholars messing about with the text would become a mania, that their suggestions would be unacceptable and require further expunging, that they would plague their pupils with their insistent, dull levity, and that they would lose the sense of what ancient poetry is for. We have moved some way from Porson. Textual criticism at its best means that you become what you love; its authentic motive is not the pretentious wish to figure in the tiny typewritten of an *apparatus criticus*, but to contribute to the understanding and the memorial of a dead author. When Porson discovered that one of his own suggestions had already been made by Bentley, he wept with joy.

In the nineteenth century there were learned men in some abundance, progress became systematic, easier travel brought with it a new familiarity with manuscripts and foreign universities, archaeology revealed what had been unknowable, reference books improved and increased, and history became increasingly ancient history with it. The revival of Greek as of Italian liberty had little effect on scholars; they were mostly uninterested in the contemporary reality of Greece, as many of them still are. The greatest reform was one of method: we owe it entirely to the learning of the generation of Mommsen, and very substantially to that one great man, to his pupils and the pupils of his pupils. It reached England slowly and in wave after wave. To read Mommsen's *History of the Roman Republic*, one might sometimes think he was a Marxist of the 1930s; the truth is that he belongs to the same intellectually colossal generation as Marx. The learning that he generated in others was

formidable, and intermingled with an intoxicating breadth of which the more gentlemanly scholars of tradition could not attain to. It was in England that the disciplines of anthropology, archaeology, and classical studies began to cross-fertilize. The work of Frazer, Cornford, Jane Harrison and the labyrinthine and esoteric of A. B. Cook was in April, and we are only now at its autumn.

Nineteenth-century scholarly English classical studies have lived by neglecting such elements, and by transforming alien elements into itself, and at present time. The work of such men has invigorated and enriched many other individuals, in exceptional cases as that of Frankel very many and deeply, with results that are starting to appear. But it is the classics as a study had not seem until yesterday to have been from the conservative side of the British academic life. It so represents a strong stand for learning against the different that popular education has taken with it, conservatism at this can do a useful job. But such studies have become strangely isolated from that central thrust of the Muse's attack on these islands which they once represented, and their new profession which exists in the understanding of ancient Greek. Little registered in schools or colleges. Even archaeology, which thought the strongest area, was remote from national interest, and life as it becomes more scientific.

On the other hand, what is integrating classical studies with their great future strength is preoccupation of many of the scholars with what for many years have been the huge, unspoken, mutually hostile approaches of Greece and Rome—questions involving the nature of society, the momentum of the forces, and the how and why of the arts of antiquity. Questions of Mommsen raised are beginning to be faced again. Homer has been so much loved, translated, and his demands on scholarship used to be difficult to contain. People are hungry for what he has in their hands and know how to interpret. The numbers of decent poets, but the greatness like that of Mommsen, is a rare growth. It may be that every European culture has antiquity in its stomach; it may be that we are on the verge of a refutation.

It is incident will be familiar to anyone with experience in the study of the history of the world. It reflects a clash between two mutually hostile approaches to the study of the past: one, Western, aims at understanding the past by reconstructing personal factors; the other, Eastern, expresses a concept of the past that puts the claims of the past, the caste, or personal relationship above any obligation to the past. The demands of the past, first used to be difficult to contain. People are hungry for what he has in their hands and know how to interpret. The numbers of decent poets, but the greatness like that of Mommsen, is a rare growth. It may be that every European culture has antiquity in its stomach; it may be that we are on the verge of a refutation.

Peter Levi, SJ, is Tutor in Classics at Campden Hall, Oxford.

Some say Mahatma, others say humbug

By GEORGE WOODCOCK
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of a leading journal and is written by a noted scholar. It should be obvious that my prime concern is with the academic tradition which creates such writing and not with his work. It seems a representative passage, for reasons of space I quote it without the footnotes, which add considerably to the prestige of the work.

The rise of Syria belongs to the "frontier" area along the Euphrates and to Oxyrhynchus, with its capital Edessa. The Syrian script is first attested on an inscription of A.D. 6 from Bireck on the left bank of the Euphrates, and a couple of other inscriptions come from the same region later in the century. (1) More important is the earliest surviving Syrian document on perishable material, the deed of sale written at Edessa in 243, and found at Dura-Europos. (2) From Edessa we have the apparently eye-witness account of the flood of A.D. 201, later incorporated in the *Syriac Chronicle of Edessa* (3) and more significantly the writings (all now lost except the *Book of the Laws of Countries*) of the heretic Barlaam (454-c.220). (4) In the face of this important development we perhaps forget that Edessa was a Macedonian colony. (5) (F. Millar, *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 1971.)

In one respect this article is exceptional. It deals with aspects of an eastern culture which would be unknown to most readers, and this alone may have lent an extra interest to the discussion of these sources. If this statement is true, it helps us considerably in identifying the model of knowledge which is implied. There seems to be no emphasis on a coherent argument. As so often in classical history, it would be extremely difficult to summarize the article, nor are summaries ever required by journals. One of the main points of the art form, as Nünke said, is the description of events as complex and diversified as the men who wrought them. And for that, one fact is roughly as useful as any other. The language which this style evokes is one of those Indian statues with many hands, offering goodies to so many points that I am never sure which hand to take, and so finish up both unsatisfied and numbed. In part, of course, this was intended. The true path of scholarship is to look up all those references, and only then can one enter the inner sanctum of knowledge. Better still, one should know the references already.

Mass-production in learned journals

The expansion of scholarly publication has aggravated the difficulties of traditional historians. A very good classics library now takes over 350 learned journals a year, and about half of these have begun publication since the Second World War. In Roman history alone, more than 1,400 articles were published in 1967, apparently an increase of 40 per cent since 1965. In circumstances like this, it is quite impossible to keep up with everything, although the traditional ethos that one should be comprehensive survives. This expansion has had one pay-off in the increased differentiation between ancient historians and classicists, though this has still not gone very far. Ancient historians are usually members of classics departments in English universities. Indeed, in Oxford and Cambridge ancient history has been studied largely by classical literature ("the great writers") and this has focused most scholarly interest on periods when great literature was written. It also led most historians to historical problems posed by the sources. The vast increase in the volume of research has almost inevitably forced historians who wish to be original to restrict themselves to new periods and regions. Unfortunately, they have usually applied the old methods to new materials rather than used the new fields as an opportunity for experiment.

As a result of this expansion, we are faced with a growing electorate in a democracy of data and with mountains of scholarship (e.g. with articles entitled "Yet Two More Unknown Senators"). But, there has been very little attempt at compression and almost no discussion

of new ways of organizing data, or of the relative merits of problems. The implicit picture of knowledge and its advancement is that it is simply additive, on the lines that the more we know the better, or one-day-announcements-will-build-up-my-work-to-a-creative-the-fruited-synthesis-e.g. this subject "has never been monographically dealt with. The purpose of the present book is to remedy this want in the literature". Of course, the synthesis is sometimes made; but it would be made more easily if ancient historians spent one paragraph in each article explaining the significance of their problem.

Endless exhortations to knowledge pose obvious problems of how to cope with it all. One obvious answer is to acquire as much knowledge as possible. In the world of scholars, the learned man (*homo doctus* in the Roman world) is and always has been very much admired. Learning is often considered an accomplishment in itself, independently of the amount of understanding that goes with it. The survival of the ambition to become learned depends in part upon fairly common agreement within a group about what is worth learning, and perhaps partly on there being a limited amount of it to learn. In sociology, by contrast, the boundaries of learning are not at all well-defined, and learning of itself has little cachet. Theoretical sophistication serves instead; one might say that there is too little respect for learning among sociologists and, as everybody knows, sociology has its own pathologies. Let me stress here only that the objectives in the disciplines are different, so that forms of validation are also likely to be different.

In common with other classical scholars, ancient historians have a second method of dealing with the mass of knowledge: namely, the exchange of illusion. All in-groups develop symbols of communication which save members the trouble of explaining at length what they mean. But illusion is particularly deeply embedded among classicists, and concerns me here because it has been solidified into a system of communication which serves instead of formal generalization. It therefore buttresses objections against different methods of analysis and strengthens the barriers against sociological history.

When a young man first enters the world of scholars, he is exposed to a whole series of references which he does not understand. They may be the abbreviated form of learned journals or series (*GCS*, *CSHB*), or more usually proper names, like Theophrastus, Grunnius or the *gronialis*, or references to key passages in classical texts, which are cited in an abbreviated form, but are none the less redolent with associations. As a scholar, his capacity to pick up membership is treated as a sign of full membership in the group. Once skill is acquired, it can be great fun to use, whether as a means of self-protection, or simply as a pleasure in conversation, or simply as a plea to confirm status within a group (for example, by gabbling in quotations in Greek). The system can work only if there is a reasonable chance that people will pick up the references more importantly, it assumes that each person is attributing similar significance to the reference. Here there is further doubt. It seems socially awkward to question the significance of a remark. The system assumes agreement, makes challenge difficult, and is inherently conservative.

One of the most obvious divergences in ideology between sociology and ancient history is over the role of generalization. Of course, any dogmatic ascription to generalization is unjustified. Ancient historians cannot avoid them, even if they sometimes make them implicitly. They work them differently from sociologists. I had best illustrate my argument with a quotation taken from a recently reviewed article by P. A.

Brunt, and this time I will add the first few footnotes, to give the flavour:

Men cannot live, even in the barest physical sense, by bread alone; and we must ask how persons who come to live in the city eked out their subsistence. A livelihood that depended on casual employment, for instance in the building trade, and on the liberality, or bribes, of the great houses, was not an attractive, and in so far as day-labourers migrated to Rome, it was probably because agricultural labour was not so much in demand as simply inadequate. Certainly, commerce and industry cannot have provided them with much employment. Rome was not a great industrial centre, and inscriptions suggest that trade and crafts were mainly in the hands of slaves and freedmen who often brought special skills and aptitudes from the East. . . . Indeed inscriptions leave the strong impression that the urban Plebs in the late Republic and early Principate was predominantly of servile origin. . . . An impression which agrees with Cicero's allusions, especially to Clodius' gangs. . . . The number of recipients of the corn-dole was also swollen by manumissions. . . . Even at a much earlier date Scipio Aemilianus had revived the urban Plebs as consisting of men to whom Italy was but a stepmother. . . . Thus in the free population of Rome former slaves far outnumbered the freeborn, and they had no roots in the soil of Italy and little interest in agrarian reform. (The Army and the Land in the Roman Republic, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1962.)

12. e.g. Cic. Att. xiv, 3. 1. See H. C. Boren, *AJP* lxxix (1958), 140 ff.; *Am. Hist. Rev.* 1957-8, 890 ff.

13. Sall. Cat. 37. 7. Trebatius, Dig. I, 3, 5, 1. Indicates that patrons might also clients live housing. Ambrusius, H. M. Lest, *AJP* lxxviii (1937), 470 ff.

13a. Sall. l.c. "ingratis labori."

This passage contains at least six explicit generalizations. Certainly, commerce and industry cannot have provided them with much employment. For example, or, "in the free population of Rome former slaves far outnumbered the freeborn". Presumably, I should like to note that I have serious substantive doubts about them all, but that is a matter of judgment. At least the author tells us very clearly what his argument is and we know what to disagree with. For my present purposes, it is more important to note that the generalizations are the only statements in the text which are not footnoted. My hunch is that the ancient historians as he reads this passage does not take the general statements too seriously. He skips over them. His attention is focused instead on proper names, on events and passages in classical texts which he recognizes as familiar (e.g. Cicero's allusions, Clodius' gangs). It is what one could call an upper-case mentality. Proper names and footnotes divert attention from the logical demands of what is needed to validate generalizations; we are persuaded by association and familiar illustration. Yet illustration is not proof, though few classical historians seem to be worried about that.

The need for new concepts

One of the main implications of my argument is that the traditional analytical framework of ancient history has been over-exploited and overstretched. Scrupulous concern with the sources has had a serious opportunity cost. The concepts and methods of analysis and the problems which they serve have not been examined with anything like the same critical acumen that has been applied to the texts. It is as though a fisherman did an autopsy on each of the fish he caught, but never stirred his boat or mended his nets; concepts can be seen as nets of different mesh cast into this sea of facts.

I am not advocating the mass conversion of ancient historians to sociology or methodology. The experience of sociology shows that methodology is even more arid than empiricism. The problem is rather what can be borrowed from sociology and adapted to the purposes of ancient history. At this point, I become acutely aware that I may be using sociology as a brand name for what many, especially

modern, historians practice already. Besides, after being so critical of ancient history, I do not want to present a simple idealized picture of sociology, and I would much prefer to illustrate sociological method by example than by abstract terms. That said, there are two aspects of sociological analysis particularly useful: the comparative analysis of institutions in their relation to each other; and the concept of the perception of their needs by the sources, and the "objective" analysis of both by the modern historian in conceptual terms of which the actors and the sources were unaware.

The study of social mobility, for example, involves all these problems. We should want to know how much social mobility was the result of tensions within the political structure or the result of the organization of land-holdings and inheritance. It would be useful to know what the main channels of mobility were, other pre-industrial status, so that we can judge the idiosyncrasies of the Roman solution. At the same time, the study of mobility obviously implies an understanding of how Romans conceptualized status; we have to appreciate the prejudices that colour surviving accounts by historians, and that to analyse the whole in terms of concept—social mobility—of which the Romans were unaware. Since the problem of mobility in general is never posed in the ancient sources, they can hardly be arbiters of the correctness of our interpretation.

I began by suggesting that there were signs of a rapprochement between ancient history and sociology. Several factors are responsible. First, the consensus between moral values of our elitist sources and most historians has crumbled and vanished. For example, "Debauched by demagogues and largesse, the Roman people was ready for the Empiro and the dispensation of bread and games." Is a typical purple passage from a great book published in 1939 by Sir Ronald Syme, and not by Tacitus or Gibbon; I do not think it could be written now. Secondly, the pressures in our society which led to the upsurge of sociology have affected ancient historians. There is a renewed interest in socio-economic history. The publication of two new series may serve as one index. H. S. Scullard's series on "Aspects of Greek and Roman Life", although somewhat traditional, has opened a wide range of social topics. Professor Finley's series on "Ancient Culture and Society" is much better aimed at the general reader. It is freed from the constraints of the very latest been underpinned by the need of classicists to maintain recruitment to the subject.

Finally, I should analyze the impetus towards change given by individuals. It can be no accident that the names which spring first to mind are of scholars in some ways marginal to the dominant tradition. Professor Finley was educated in the United States and then, in effect, exiled. Although he had worked some time in a famous sociological institute, he has not brought the formal sociology into his studies of the classics, but rather a brilliant sociological intuition, and a sense of what matters in a problem. A Momigliano appears much more traditional but has brought into his work an almost incredible breadth of learning about the classical tradition, stemming from a Continental education. This does not make him work sociological, but gives it a sense of reality so often missing from the work of English historians. And it has led him in the past few years to the encouragement of his work in history and anthropology.

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Kelch Hopkins is a Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the London School of Economics.

The McKinsey of gangland

JOHN KOHLER
Editor
Michael Joseph, £3.

The power of organized crime in the United States, particularly in Chicago, first came to general notice in the 1920s, when Prohibition created a vast new field of criminal enterprise supplementing the staple activities of extortion, intimidation, bribery, prostitution, gambling and so on. It was at this time that the struggles of the gangs and larger associations to monopolize their increasingly increased opportunities began to capture the popular imagination and some sort of grotesque and somewhat consequent of the First World War. But this was not so; the violence of the Torrios and the Colomos and the Torrios and the violence of the Torrios and the Colomos were part of an older pattern, the pattern of which is clearly clear. The Volstead Act did not produce the gangs, but it greatly increased their scope, and the Prohibition period enabled criminal associations to consolidate their strength and wealth.

John Kohler's subject, Alphonse Capone, played a large part in this. He was one of poor first-generation Italian immigrants, he was born in Brooklyn in 1899, and grew up in the slums, graduating from an idyllic gang-fighting to employment as a liquor-bartender. Having twice been a murder-suspect and threatened with an indictment for a third time, he was glad to escape to Chicago in 1919. Here he began his partnership with John Torrio, who was soon to take over the business, murdered in 1920, to inaugurate a *pari passum* with the different ethnic groups of Chicago gangsters. Capone's initial role in the organization was obscure; we glimpse him toiling outside a brothel, hear of him carrying a gun for Torrio, and no doubt he was useful at election times and in the vice business generally. His fellow-Napopolitan mentor, Torrio, seventeen years his elder, had known him in New York and obviously saw him as an up-and-coming young man.

It was from Torrio that Capone learned that rackets prospered best when administered on business lines, with the gangs established in their own territories and specialities, developing their efforts to maximizing profits and security instead of shedding each other's blood. But the *pax* was always precarious, given the nature of those who were required to keep it, and greed, revenge and inherent antagonism quickly upset it. The need to eliminate the intrapartisan off whole chains of assassinations, and after Torrio had handed over control to Capone, the energetic expansion of the business had to go hand in hand with defence and attack. There was always considerable danger and the gangster overlord had about as much peace of mind as the killer-priest of Nemi. Capone was onerous with his security and had deeply obligated allies in the city government, the judiciary and the police. He had achieved almost complete mastery of the Chicago gangs when his Achilles heel was found by the taxman. The federal court gave him a long prison sentence. He was already fatally ill but survived his captivity; he died some seven years after his release, at home, in bed.

Mr Kohler has made a comprehensive study of Capone and his times. He enables the reader to thread his way through the labyrinth of gang warfare and Chicago politics, dealing ably with a great mass of material and shaping it into readable and comprehensible form. His writing is exact and graphic, and his concern is with its innate form rather than with those forms which have arisen in response to particular American conditions. The book is addressed to a British audience and it is likely whatever material can be found in the meagre British writing on the subject. Such an enterprise is salutary. Little serious interest has been devoted to the universal properties of organized crime or its peculiar British expression.

Criminal Organization is built around a taxonomy of crime. Six major types are distinguished from one another in terms of their "rationality", complexity and dominant activity. Although Mr Cressey is vague about the relations between these types, it is clear that they are held to represent the stages of an implicit evolutionary process. Borrowing largely from the work of Mary McIntosh, the argument presents the principal catalyst of change as the unstable relations which knit together the criminal, his victim, the distribution of property and the techniques which are employed to protect it. It is apparent that this is a most valuable exercise. What is tacitly presupposed, however, is that this system of relations is alone powerful enough to explain how crime moves along the evolutionary chain. This presupposition prompts Mr Cressey to warn us that "the citizens of Great Britain should not be lulled by the sort of order and organization which the sort of organized crime now threatening to undermine the American political and economic systems cannot arise in their country".

Criminal Organization is an extended essay based on a lecture delivered at Cambridge. It does not pretend to contain more than the skeleton of an argument. Yet it was obviously thought to offer an adequate model which would enable limited prediction. The model isn't a critical aim. The emergence of organized crime is a complex process

secure; we glimpse him toiling outside a brothel, hear of him carrying a gun for Torrio, and no doubt he was useful at election times and in the vice business generally. His fellow-Napopolitan mentor, Torrio, seventeen years his elder, had known him in New York and obviously saw him as an up-and-coming young man.

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he preserves a cool, temperate tone, avoiding the temptations of sensationalism and fancy. He assembles the facts about Capone disinterestedly, allowing the reader to draw his own conclusions.

In the history of crime, Capone's main significance was his contribution to the evolution of the gangs into larger organizations with management-command systems. In his story can be seen the working of a criminal power-structure within the legally constituted community, poisoning commerce, industry, democratic administration, justice and individual liberty, but contriving nevertheless to secure a measure of public toleration and even regard.

Capone's popularity was due to several factors. The legislators who outlawed gambling and liquor provided the opening—to give the people what many of them were not prepared to go without. The assassinations were nearly all of assassins, which could be seen as a service which the police were unable to perform. (O. W. Wilson, then Superintendent—I, e. Commissioner—of the Chicago City Police Department, testified in 1963 that of the 976 "gangland-type slayings" since 1919 only two had been solved.) Capone, indeed, in his expansive moments saw himself as a public benefactor, giving pleasure to the multitude: "Public service is my motto. I've always regarded it as a public benefaction if people were given decent liquor and square games." Capone in fact found no lack of customers among the ostensibly law-abiding, no lack of allies among those who were the sworn guardians of the values they helped him to subvert. In their hearts, many of his fellow-citizens envied and admired the deadly, coarse heilist who defied legal authority, dispensed largesse and wore his birdcage crown for almost a decade.

Undercover entrepreneurs

WALD R. CRESSEY
Criminal Organization: Its Elements and Forms
Heinemann Educational, £2 (paperback, 90p).

Organized crime has received only intermittent attention from writers in the United States. In Britain, it has been defined as a significant social problem at all. During those episodes when Americans might be an object of intellectual curiosity, it was not the sociologists and criminologists but the journalists and politicians who described it.

From the work of Landesco, Whyte, Bell and a few others, Mr Cressey has simply been brought about by the increasing need of criminology to grasp behaviour which was seemingly rational, well-orchestrated. Such a study presented little opportunity for the skillful exploration of irony and mystery about such police entrepreneurial activity. A Mombigliano appears much more traditional but has brought into his work an almost incredible breadth of learning about the classical tradition, stemming from a Continental education. This does not make him work sociological, but gives it a sense of reality so often missing from the work of English historians. And it has led him in the past few years to the encouragement of his work in history and anthropology.

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OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

The origins of serfdom

RICHARD HELLIE:
Enserfment and Military Change in
Moscow
432pp. The University of Chicago
Press. £6.50.

Although it has been one of the most thoroughly-researched and controversial problems of Russian history, there is not a very extensive literature in English, or indeed in any other Western European language, on the enserfment of the Russian peasantry. Jerome Blum's *Lord and Peasant in Russia from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* was widely praised on its appearance in 1961, but the attempt to cover so much ground in a single volume necessarily led to a sketchy treatment of certain important issues. R. E. F. Smith's *The Enserfment of the Russian Peasantry* (1968) was not a history of the origins of serfdom, but a collection of fifty-six documents from 1125-32 to 1649, translated from the Russian and selected "in order to give the English reader some idea of the process by which peasants in the core of Russia came to be legally enserfed in the mid-seventeenth century". From many angles the most lucid, succinct and valuable account has remained George Vernadsky's communication to the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences in Rome in 1955; but it was tucked away in the *Relazioni* of the congress, and is probably not as widely known as it deserves to be.

Meanwhile there has been much interesting work on various aspects of the subject by Soviet historians, including some valuable archival discoveries. Now, with the publication of Richard Hellie's important new study, we have not only an impressive work of synthesis but a

major contribution to Muscovite history: the author has made the salutary attempt to place the evolution of peasant status in the context of military change.

What Mr Hellie does is to trace three historical processes: the rise of what he calls "the middle service class", the enserfment of the peasantry and the "gunpowder revolution" in Muscovy. As he points out in an admirably thorough historical introduction, the interrelationship of these processes is not a new idea: the pre-revolutionary historian of the gentry, A. V. Romanovich-Slavatinskii, attributed the enserfment of the peasantry to an attempt by the state power to provide for the needs of the military servants, and other historians have argued that the peasants were enserfed to satisfy the interests of the land-holders. But Soviet historians have devoted little attention to the middle service class and military subjects, and many have been reluctant to see any divergence of interest among the various landed elements of Muscovite society.

Mr Hellie shows that the fate of the peasantry and its relationship to the rise and fall of the middle service class, cavalrymen armed with bows and arrows, were influenced by the state of the military art as well as by the economic needs, the social position and the political status of the men who bore arms. The problem of the interaction between military-technological and social change has led Mr Hellie to raise several new questions and to argue convincingly that the fundamental changes in military technology, technique and strategy had a lasting impact on both the peasantry and the middle service class.

In Russian historical writing there have been essentially two main schools of thought on the problem of enserfment, described by Mr Hellie as the "decreed" interpretation and the "non-decreed" interpretation. There were those historians who argued that serfdom in Russia was established by governmental decree, and there were those who maintained that serfdom was not the result of any conscious policy of the Government, but was caused by social and economic processes, of which the growth of the manor, long-term residency and the indebtedness of the peasants to their lords were important aspects. In the Soviet period, the whole question has been belittled by the "feudalism" issue, and because the whole of Russian history up to 1861 is often claimed to be a feudal period and serfdom an essential constituent part of feudalism, the orthodox Soviet view is that the Russian peasant up to 1861 was, invariably, a serf. Those historians who have devoted serious study to the changes that occurred in the Muscovite period have generally argued that the peasant living on a lord's land was feudally dependent, but not bound, and it is clear that many now hold that serfdom began at the end of the sixteenth century. In 1968 V. I. Koretskii published a number of state documents on events at the beginning of the 1590s which provided additional proof of the primacy of the role of the Government in the enserfment and further weakened the "non-decreed" interpretation.

Making extensive use of recent Soviet historical research, Mr Hellie offers us a modified "decreed" interpretation, arguing with great skill, on the basis of a vast amount of

documentation, that enserfment began when the free peasants were bound gradually to the land by a series of decrees issued between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, first to satisfy the demands of the monasteries and later to favour the powerful middle service class which performed most of the essential governmental and military functions. The introduction of St George's Day, the device of the "forbidden years", the statute of limitations on the recovery of fugitive peasants and its repeal in the *Uchenie* (Code) of 1649, which completed the process of enserfment, are all analysed with great thoroughness as Mr Hellie traces the various stages of the enserfment process and assembles the evidence for his "decreed" interpretation.

To place this process of enserfment in the context of military change, Mr Hellie describes the introduction of gunpowder technology and the new military tactics in Muscovy. In the fifteenth century the major military figure in Muscovy was the cavalryman, armed with bow and arrow; by the end of the sixteenth century he had been replaced by an infantryman armed with a flintlock musket and accompanied by heavy cannon. The traditional military forces of Muscovy were obsolescent. Western mercenaries and their style of warfare were introduced during the Smolensk War, and although it was initially a temporary measure, it presaged a complete reorganization of the army. The middle service class, with its power threatened and its services reduced to a minimum, pressed for and achieved some privileges, including the retention of their serfs, over whom they came to exercise increasing dominance. Mr Hellie's final

chapter is an attempt to explain serfdom persisted in Russia though the middle service class, the military force, was dissolved by succession of state measures. "The continuation of serfdom," he says, "permitted a peaceful reform of the army in spite of the fact that this reform disposed of the potentially troublesome powerful middle service class."

In the course of his study, Hellie offers many thoughtful and thought-provoking comments on political developments and personalities and policies of Muscovite rulers. Not all these will command wholehearted approval and some will doubtless be strongly challenged. For instance, Mr Hellie is a great admirer of the Soviet historian D. P. Malov, whose challenging, but in my view, somewhat over-enthusiastic, graph he once reviewed enthusiastically. That work had its elements of exaggeration and modernization, but the author's argument for an economic upsurge in Muscovy was not without merit. The *oprichnina*, but in his place that institution and of Ivan G. Minkovskii's "revisionism" took to an extreme position. Mr Hellie, however, accepts both views and insists that in the *oprichnina* "paradox" Ivan simply indulged in a mind delusion. Complete devotion is no more convincing than uncritical idealization.

But this and other quibbles do not seriously detract from the value of Mr Hellie's work. His knowledge of the complex terminology of Muscovite social structures and military matters is masterly, and he gives us a work which no student of Muscovite Russia can afford to ignore.

PHILOSOPHY

The voice of the dove

LEON J. JIDAIK:
Philosophy of Knowledge and
Values
Barrie and Jenkins. £1.50.
Paperback, 30p.

Philosophy of Knowledge and Values contains the slightly revised lectures of the Bertrand Russell Memorial Lectures delivered by Leon J. Jidai at Trinity College, Cambridge, on June 26 and 28, 1971. It is the first of Chomsky's books in English, and his two major preoccupations—epistemic description and political action—appear together. "On Interiority of the World," reiterates his view of the two lectures. "On Interiority of the World," reiterates his view of the two lectures. "On Interiority of the World," reiterates his view of the two lectures.

Based on a synthesis of his own, however, this volume is more a summary of his separate views on language and politics, one which, however, seems to show that they are not essentially different and may be seen as one. The volume does say in its introduction that "it is by no means obvious that a given person's efforts, in a given domain, must derive from a common source or be at all 'linked'." However, since the volume deals with the problem of the acquisition of knowledge and the second with the public use of the activities of certain groups of knowledge (academic and intellectual), it is not reasonable to seek for a certain unity of view in both essays.

In his introduction Chomsky says that the opposition of the rational and the irrational, the creative impulse in man, is a central theme in his work. He produces fruitful observations and a sense of self-fulfilment, while the negativity of the rational is characterized by the creation of greed and conflict. The implication is that the "fruitful creative impulse" is innate and constantly attacked by the environment. He attempts to determine the structure of the individual and the structure of the society. Any attempt to reduce the structure of knowledge or belief to external factors seems to be not only empirically false, but to surrender to the force of determinism.

Chomsky does indeed admit environment as a factor in the acquisition

of knowledge, but only as one factor: "A system of knowledge and belief results from the interplay of innate mechanisms, genetically determined maturational processes, and interaction with the social and physical environment." He then provides examples from language in which the "innate schematism" of the mind is demonstrated by certain operations upon linguistic structures which are inexplicable by surface means. Non-obvious constraints on the movement of sentence-elements account for the relationship between "I believe the dog to be hungry" and "The dog is believed to be hungry"; the same sort of constraint prevents the creation of the passive of the (apparently) similar active sentence "I believe the dog is hungry". The principle which prevents the generation of "The dog is believed is hungry" — that nothing can be extracted from a "tensed" internal sentence ("the dog is hungry") — does not apply to a "non-tensed" sentence ("the dog to be hungry"), and is not deducible, in any obvious way, from the surface of the language; it depends upon the existence of a set of mental schemata which ultimately control the surface appearance of an unlimited number of sentences.

Apparent exceptions demonstrate the operation of other grammatical schemata. As Chomsky has often said before, it is doubtful whether these schemata could have been acquired on the basis of the limited data available to young language-acquirers. Therefore, there are at least some areas of the mind which are not simply a mirror of environment. Chomsky is the latest in a line of philosophers who deny any organizing principle in mental phenomena; in Santayana's phrase,

philosophers of this school are motivated by a "malice towards matter".

To apply this demonstration of the existence of innate mental schemata to other areas of human activity is not attempted by Chomsky. Are there innate moral or social schemata, of which social and moral behaviour are the surface realization? If free "fruitful" creation is the natural state of man, as Russell declares and Chomsky echoes, environmentalism is the domain of the unnatural dominators, and mentalism the domain of freedom. This is the implication throughout the second lecture, although it is never enunciated.

Indeed, the second essay lacks the clarity and control of the first; it quickly develops from remarks on work as the free conscious activity of man, and on principles of education based upon Russell and Humboldt, to a generalized account of American military activity in Vietnam and attempts to control dissent in the United States. Yet linguistic constraints restrict the potential output of language; why, therefore, should moral and social schemata operate in a socially fruitful manner, to create free and unconstrained modes of behaviour? Centralized power, whether of Chinese or Russian communism or Western capitalism, is for Chomsky the great villain of history. Like Yeats, he is horrified by "the cruelty of governments". Yet may not innate mental schemata encourage the participation in centralized power just as easily as they could the powers of shelter from it? The powers of the mind, though inaccessible as yet to direct analysis, may be forces for tyranny and serfdom as readily as for freedom.

Whither theory?

A. J. AYER:
Probability and Evidence
444pp. Macmillan. £3.50.

To plan our notions for the future, or to understand why things are as they are, we must apparently know more than we immediately experience. We must form theories about the laws, causal relations and uniformities that underlie the superficial flow of events. But how are such theories to be discovered and what can justify their acceptance? The philosophy of knowledge has always been faced with a dilemma.

According to one type of account (Platonic, Cartesian, Kantian) the theories are primarily products of reason—of armchair exegesis—and human reason enjoys some metaphysically guaranteed title to produce theories that correspond with reality. Perhaps God guarantees this, or perhaps it is guaranteed by the fact that the structure of the world is merely a projection of our own minds or of human language. But whatever the nature of the guarantee invoked by rationalist philosophers, they are always exposed to the rejoinder: if reason is so powerful, why is our knowledge so incomplete? Why has the progress of science been so long, so slow and so difficult?

An empiricist account makes the difficulty of science easier to understand. The complex variety of our perceptual experience seems a poor and puzzling source of evidence about underlying uniformities. But the trouble is that this type of account makes scientific knowledge so difficult that it seems virtually impossible. No amount of past observations can ever verify a generalization that applies also to the future.

Most contemporary philosophers of science think of Hume as having conclusively shown that the rationalist account is untenable. But they are inclined to differ about the extent to which scepticism is an inevitable consequence of empiricist epistemology. The most interesting protagonists of scepticism today are those who, like T. S. Kuhn and P. K. Feyerabend, rely on close acquaintance with concrete detail in the history of science. They emphasize therefore the variety of past patterns, tendencies and changes in the work of scientists, and deny the existence of any single methodology, or logical framework, that is canonical for all scientific inquiry. They are content, like Hume, with the fact that scientists do generalize, and refrain from occupying themselves with questions about when and how far such generalization is justified. Their opponents are those who seek, in effect, to retain Hume's critique of rationalism but to reject or water down his sceptical conclusions, or at least to make these conclusions compatible with the conception of science as an activity that is controlled by intellectually respectable standards.

The main move made by philosophers of the latter persuasion has been to replace the problem of how to verify a generalization by the problem of how to confirm it. Instead of seeking to show how belief in the outright truth of a scientific theory can sometimes be justified, they aim instead to show how different kinds of evidence can afford different degrees of confirmation for the theory. In general they have supposed that any suitable measure of confirmation must conform to the axioms of the mathematical calculus of probabilities, and various elaborate systems of inductive logic have been constructed along these lines by Keynes, Carnap, and others. But this constructive enterprise has encountered certain notorious difficulties, in the form of paradoxes about the concept of confirmation. The most serious paradoxes are those put forward, with great ingenuity, by Carl Hempel and Nelson Goodman.

A. J. Ayer's *Probability and Evidence* is based on his 1970 John Dewey lectures at Columbia University, but contains two additional chapters. As one might have expected from so well-known an heir of the Vienna Circle, his general attitude to Hume's problem is the same as that of Carnap, though he gives several reasons for rejecting Carnap's own system of inductive logic, and he is naturally much occupied with the Hempel-Goodman paradoxes. He also discusses the ideas of Reichenbach and von Mises about the nature of probability, and has a separate chapter on Roy Harrod's rather more idiosyncratic attempt to refute Hume's sceptical conclusions. His comments are always lucid, well-informed and judicious, and his book constitutes a useful student's introduction to the topic. But apart from the chapter on Harrod's theory the ground he traverses is fairly well-trodden.

Indeed it is possible that philosophers of science sometimes spend too much time labouring over the well-known anomalies and difficulties in the few theories of confirmation that have been produced and too little time trying to produce better theories. In science itself an old and widely successful theory is rarely given up just because certain phenomena not found to disagree with it, but only when a new and better theory is offered in its place. Perhaps some philosophers of science can learn a lesson here. Carnap's admirers can hardly be expected to sling a different tune until they have been offered a different score. Nor will it do to suggest in sketchy and incomplete outline, as Professor Ayer does, how such a new theory might be constructed. Only when a degree of rigour and detail comparable to Carnap's can it be subjected to worthwhile criticism and its feasibility properly assessed.

The breaking of the ice

DAVID FAIRHALL:
Russia Looks to the Sea
286pp. André Deutsch. £3.95.

The expansion of Russian maritime activity has been one of the most remarkable naval events during the past twenty years. The Soviet Union is now not only the second most powerful naval power but has a rapidly growing merchant marine, already standing sixth in tonnage in the world league, as well as the world's largest fishing fleet and most highly developed organization for oceanographic research. Whatever the motives behind them, the facts cannot be denied: the Russian bear is now Polar. Along with this increase in resources has come a series of developments in deployment which have brought Russian naval vessels into every ocean of the world and her merchant ships into trade and harbours hitherto considered a Western preserve. Although these developments have naturally caused violent discussion, verging on alarm, in Britain at least there has been little to inform the general public of what has happened. David Fairhall is a journalist with experience in the shipping industry as well as in the Royal Navy, in which he was a Russian interpreter, and, with these qualifications, has produced a welcome introduction to the subject.

The book is well written and documented, based on wide reading of Russian sources. It is praiseworthy in its attempt neither to minimize the importance of what the Soviet Union has done and intends to do at sea, nor to wax hysterical over it as a plot to spread communist revolution. He unashamedly and rightly says that his is a journalist's book, and it has some of the inconclusiveness inherent to journalism; but on a topic where dogmatism is dangerous, this is not necessarily a drawback.

More than half of *Russia Looks to the Sea* is devoted to matters maritime rather than naval. Mr Fairhall provides for the first time for the general reader a fascinating account of the Soviet Union's struggle to

break out of maritime isolation by developing techniques to use the normally ice-bound Arctic routes. He continues, with good statistical illustrations, to analyse the patterns of growth in the Soviet shipping industry and seaborne trade and fishing. He emphasizes the uniqueness of all this development as the product of a central plan and not operated under unified political control, as compared with the uneasy amalgam of competing private interests and sporadic government intervention which characterizes the maritime industries of the capitalist world.

Despite the bureaucratic obstacles of the Soviet system, the achievement is impressive. More difficult to decide is its significance to the West. Is it merely a new source of competition within the existing system regulating international maritime trade and fishing, or will the Russians use the advantages given them by state finance to wage economic war? Mr Fairhall's answers are cautious. He points out that so far the Soviet Union has kept to the rules of the shipping "conferences" it has joined, and, with the exception of whaling, has shown itself responsibly aware of the need for conservation of the oceans' fish resources. Obviously, as maritime strength and expertise grow, it could be tempted into more aggressive tactics. The way to prevent this, Mr Fairhall argues, is for Western nations to accept the economic challenge by promoting greater efficiency and genuine competition in their own maritime industries and to use the media to which the Russians seem increasingly sensitive, to keep the developing facts of the situation before international public opinion.

The smaller part of the book dealing with the rise of Russian naval power, is less detailed in its information and less incisive in its analysis. The Soviet Navy today consists of some 475,000 men, as compared with the 622,000 of Great Britain. It has some 18 cruisers, 103 destroyers and more than 100 other ocean-going escorts. Compared with the American ships, an increasing

proportion of these are modern and remarkable for their reliance on missiles for use against both sea and air targets. In addition there are some 140 missile-armed fast patrol-boats, to which there is no Western counterpart. Above all, there is a submarine strength of well over 300, including an increasing proportion of nuclear-powered attack submarines as well as Polaris-type strategic missile craft, gradually approaching parity with the United States in number if not in quality. Beyond the 40 anti-submarine helicopters based on two helicopter carriers, the Soviet Navy relies for its air support on land-based aircraft, including 300 bombers armed with air-to-surface missiles.

These are facts, as are the examples of a widening deployment of this formidable naval force which have become apparent in the past ten years. A strong permanent presence

in the Mediterranean, increasingly frequent sorties into the Indian Ocean, and massive exercises involving the simultaneous deployment of substantial forces in all four of Russia's major fleet areas—the Baltic and Black Seas, the Northern Sea and the Pacific—are a far cry from the navy confined to coastal waters in a role subordinate to the Red Army, which was the Soviet Navy's lot until the 1950s. Faced with these facts, Western strategists have differed widely about the purpose behind them. In Britain, academic observers have developed a well-thought-out theory, based on careful study of the nature and timing of Russian building programmes and deployment, which sees as the driving force the need to defend the Soviet motherland from strategic nuclear strikes. In earlier years from the carrier-borne aircraft of the United States Strika Fleet and now from missile sub-

marines. Politicians and Ministry of Defence spokesmen place more emphasis on the traditional role of power, such as the projection of political power and the threat posed by Europe's essential supplies, especially of oil, by the huge Russian maritime force.

In professional circles, this dispute is tending to dangerous dimensions on both sides. Those involved well consider Mr Fairhall's only expressed opinion: that two policies are not mutually exclusive, and that the Soviet Union soon have the maritime and air resources to pursue their simultaneous aims. The task of Western spokesmen is not to quarrel with themselves but to convince as a legitimate public that the Soviet Union is now presenting at sea an economic and a naval challenge which must not be ignored.

Jocular juxtapositions

RONALD HINGLEY:
A Concise History of Russia
224pp. Including 198 illustrations.
Thames and Hudson. £2.50.

The category to which this volume belongs has been described, somewhat uncharitably, as "a poor man's coffee table book". The main characteristic of both the expensive version and the more modestly priced variant is that they are essentially picture-books in which the text meanders between the illustrations, and all too often one finishes with Swinburne's thankfulness "that even the weariest river winds somewhere safe to sea". In this case, however, Ronald Hingley's text is of a quality that raises the book above this level. Combining readability with reliability, he has produced an account of the history of Russia from the Kievan state up to the 1970s which is always lively, impressively free from factual errors and judicious, if somewhat conventional, in its conclusions.

The demands of conciseness do not always help him to do justice to certain complex events, but he does a creditable job on this point by recognizing the problem in his preface and declaring his respect for "the eternal elusiveness of historical truth". He does, however, overdo the unhistorical parallels and juxtapositions of Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, Catherine II, Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev. To write that "Ivan the Terrible and Stalin practised extravagant overkill," and to compare the former's attitude towards Prince Michael Vorotynsky with Stalin's towards Marshal Tukhachevsky and Zhukov adds perhaps to the entertainment value; but is there really any point in comparing sixteenth-century authoritarianism with twentieth-century totalitarianism?

Mr Hingley also finds space to "have a go" at some of his *bétes noirs* with his statement on the final page that

Lenin's heirs have been... very protected, through skilful public relations, from such nuisances as strikes, demonstrations against policy, assassinations of leading men and the pronouncements of dismissive-minded clergymen, as well from hippies, yuppies, junkies, supermarkets and protesting students.

In his translation and editing of Russian names he is above consistent, but inconsistency has been preferable to "Nikolai Krupskiy" and "Anatoly Khrushchev" and Boborykin's claim to be the originator of the term "intelligentsia" was demolished some time ago. The short bibliography at the end of the book includes some interesting choices, but should generally be helpful to the reader wishing to follow up those statements of Hingley that have provoked his marginal comment. The illustrations are carefully captioned, and work can be commended as a valuable introductory survey of a merely complex topic.

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Andreas Gresser

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E. J. BRILL OF LEIDEN

was very brave of him to be attempting the exercise at all, by the adoption of a special high, coy, slightly whining tone of voice.

On the other hand it is only fair to say that H. G. Wells probably did have to go a bit easy intellectually in 1922, when today's relatively large public determined to engage in some kind of thought, did not yet exist.

And this public requires something fairly stiff in the way of popularization; it can take it.

One does not have to go back to 1922 to remember a time when this was not so. To consider, for example, the early Penguin productions, there is a noticeable difference between the level of argument in some of these publications of the 1940s and early 1950s, when the effects of the Butler Act had not yet been seen, and the level that is thought advisable today.

Someone complained the other day that this was because Penguins had deserted "the people" and are now aiming at the élite; but it would be truer to say that "the people" have become much better educated. When I look at a popularizing effort I myself wrote in 1952 (it is out of print, so its sales will not be affected by my disarming modesty about it), I am ashamed to see the low level of cerebral pabulum which seemed to me adequate at the time. Whether I estimated rightly or wrongly then, I should certainly have to raise my sights considerably now. And there is a further point. What people seem to want now is information. Except in the hands of a very small band of recognized stylistic masters, an elegant essay, a flavour of belles lettres, is no longer acceptable in such works.

It is illuminating to compare some of the slender early introductions of early Penguin Classics with, for instance, Peter Green's recent and much mentioned *Journal*.

He, too, is thinking of this reader of (possibly) great intelligence and keen logical grasp. But the paradox lies in the fact that the same reader may also be utterly, totally, ignorant of the subject you are trying to communicate to him. This is a point which popularizers repeatedly fail to bear in mind, how as often as it is.

It is rather unfair to take one's prize example from J. A. Hanink, since the three-volume *Wonders of the Past*, written under his editorship, has stood the passage of fifty years remarkably well. However, this is what he wrote:

Timed, unlike Palmyra, had no Zenobia, no Longinus, no immortals; it was not even a jibe to cast a romantic glamour over its broken stones as with the sparse fragments of Cherchel.

Now, that is not good enough, because even if your reader is a card-carrying member of Mensa he is still not going to have all that variegated erudition at his finger-tips.

That being so, to parade it, footnoted, in front of him, is positively irritating and insulting. Or take the Roman constitution. I mentioned it earlier as a subject that is hard to popularize, but that does not mean that if the matter crops up in a work you are attempting to write for a wider public you are ever entitled to mention, say, a proquestor without indicating, either in the sense breath or at some other accessible point, what sort of creature that is. Ah, it will be objected, you were just saying you must not talk down to the reader. But the objection contains a fallacy. Certainly you must not talk down to his intelligence, but that does not mean you should load your text with technicalities he lacks the academic equipment to understand.

Neglect of these and similar points (which is all too easy, as I know to my cost) destroys the utility of a large proportion of works which might otherwise have performed a valuable task of popularization. Curiously enough, these include otherwise excellent books which emerge with steady regularity from the university presses every year.

The fault is more often the inclusion of incomprehensible terms and names than the opposite mistake of talking down. The blurb, indeed, the jacket, fight bravely against this tendency by repeatedly indicating that the books are designed for a wider public, but equally determining the authors imply their denial of this by the inclusion of unexplained technical allusions which this

largely fine of The National Translation Center at Austin, Texas. Nevertheless, they have also put forward at least one important point about the translation of Greek and Latin prose.

What they maintain is that some modern translators, notably contributors to the Penguin Classics, tend to be too smooth and equitable, and to iron out the abruptnesses and idiosyncrasies of their originals in the dubious interests of "readability" (e.g. Gareth Morgan, *Arión VII*, 3, 1968, pp. 472ff; cf. D. S. Carne-Ross, page 397). Being one of those criticized I have tried to provide an answer (*Arión*, II, 2, 1971, pp. 7ff). In my opinion this contempt for readability is misplaced, because, if it is lacking, the result, viewed in terms of communication (which is what we are aiming at), ceases to be English, in any currently valid sense of the word. Certainly ancient roughnesses and abruptnesses have to be reproduced by a translator in some way or other. But there is more than one possible device for heightening and varying the emotions—which is what these inequalities in the Greek and Latin are aiming at—and it seems to me that one thing that will not do the trick is to attempt to achieve a comparable verbal crispness in English, since any such endeavour will be Carlylean or Tacitean in our language in 1972 merely means that one is ceasing to write what is, nowadays, English, so that the reader can hardly be expected to read what one has written; and this does not, therefore, qualify as a viable translation.

Since, however, a vast amount of ancient literature is not prose but poetry, and since this, in addition to its literary qualities, is informative at every level, the writer who wants to popularize the classics will also find it necessary to quote fairly extensively, again in translation, from the Greek and Latin poets. According to one theory, these quotations can very well be presented in prose versions. Two arguments are offered in support of this procedure. First, at least when the popularizer in question is concerned with a historical rather than a literary theme, it is suggested that since the quotation is intended purely for informative purposes these are better served by a factual prose rendering than by verse. This seems to me wrong, because the characteristics of the "information" supplied by poetry and prose are so entirely different that to present the former as the latter is bound to give a misleading impression to the reader.

The second argument in favour of prose versions suggests that, given all the differences between the ancient languages on the one hand and modern English on the other, prose has as good a chance of capturing the "spirit" of the original as verse. If this argument is restricted to short

Michael Grant was formerly Vice-Chancellor of the Queen's University Belfast, and is the author of numerous books on Roman history.

The anti-philologists

NIAL RUDD (Editor):

Essays on Classical Literature

Selected from *Arión*

275pp. Cambridge: Heffer, £2.25.

Arión started life in 1961 as a Classical journal edited in the University of Texas. Its aim was to encourage a literary approach to Greek and Latin literature and to counterbalance the philological and historical criticism that had for long predominated. From the beginning there was a polemical air about the enterprise, the keynote was *ars et industria* rather than *meritum et labor*, philology, more recently, and under the strenuous influence of men like Tom Gould and C. J. Herington, the tone became more relaxed. Whether for that or other reasons (including the final dissolution of so many stalwarts of the Classics Department at Austin), a place that always had a faintly absent air about it, *Arión* is now on its last legs. If not actually defunct, when last seen it had turned into a magazine about translation. In short, the life-cycle of *Arión* has been nothing unusual—except, perhaps

in the skilful timing of this latest volume in the Heffer-Finley series of reprints. A selection of some of the best articles from the first six volumes of *Arión* has been made by Niall Rudd, who contributes a neat prefatory survey of attitudes to Classical literature in Britain and America before and after the last world war.

One misses something here about the magazine itself: out about the principles of choice; three or four outstanding pieces do not appear, presumably because they have been preempted elsewhere. The reader would like to know, too, how representative the selection is. Are the printed pieces only a little better than most of the rest? If so, one might want to devour *Arión* whole. The answer probably is that there were occasional outstanding contributions, but that the general level was not very high. That must have been a continuing difficulty for the editors, and it has made *Arión* easy to attack or dismiss; after all the professions of aesthetic virtue, the rage against academic commentaries and learned disquisitions, so little was offered to put in their place. Yet that was (of course)

lyrics and verse epigrams (see G. Connolly's *The Contemned Poet*, ground), well and good. But the same, with due respect to the particular purposes fulfilled by P. V. Brown, the transformation of the poetry to prose is too brutal. One can imagine a more judicious selection of the poetry of one kind or another, even so the loss in eliminating the poetic structure altogether is so great that the result cannot help falling below the minimum fidelity required to the original, however defined.

Besides, if the popularizer of the poetry is to be in possession of an exceptionally good opportunity, he cannot help falling below the minimum fidelity required to the original, however defined. The two situations are not so far apart as they seem. The argument about poetry and Latin poetry, as he should be, happens to be in possession of an exceptionally good opportunity, he cannot help falling below the minimum fidelity required to the original, however defined. The two situations are not so far apart as they seem. The argument about poetry and Latin poetry, as he should be, happens to be in possession of an exceptionally good opportunity, he cannot help falling below the minimum fidelity required to the original, however defined. The two situations are not so far apart as they seem. 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Commentary

On Wednesday of this week Her Majesty the Queen opened the much-awaited exhibition of Treasures of Tutankhamun at the British Museum. For a great many people the showing in this country of some of the remarkable and wonderful objects from the tomb of Tutankhamun fulfils a hope that has existed ever since it was discovered in 1922. It was a very proper decision on the part of the Egyptian Antiquities Service which resulted in the retention in Egypt of the whole contents of such unique importance could not be split up and divided between the discoverer and the country of the discovery, as usually happened in Egypt in those days. Nevertheless many British people, contemplating the nationality of Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter, respectively the patron and the excavator of the find, have felt, over the years, a little cheated that none of the treasures should have been shown in this country. This sense of grievance, if it may be so termed, had not been modified by the knowledge that some pieces from the tomb's treasures have been shown in other countries—in America and Japan, and above all, in Paris, a few years ago.

Today, perhaps, most of the chagrin will fall away. For what is now being shown in London on the fortieth anniversary of the discovery of the tomb is by far the largest and most striking selection of those things from the tomb ever to have left Egypt. Not only are there more objects but also they represent, as a collection, a far better sample of the tomb's contents than any other loan. This, then, is a moment for celebration and for considering the importance of the find.

The impact of the initial discovery was suitably reported in the daily press and in glossy periodical publications. The info of the clearance of the tomb was spread over many years as Carter carried out the meticulous recovery of so many rare and fragile things, often embellished lavishly with gold foil or gold leaf, and therefore particularly precious. For ten years after the initial discovery, the work of recovery, consolidation and transport to Cairo continued. In all it provided a saga of continuing archaeological skill and public thrill which maintained popular interest with unflinching intensity unparalleled in the long history of archaeological discovery.

Since those stirring days of ritual excitement the magic of the name Tutankhamun has not diminished, but the mystique is hard to explain. It is not simply that what Carter found in 1922 was an outstanding collection of ancient works of art. Indeed art historians were slow to point out that many of the objects from the tomb were conceived, in doubtful taste, in a modern, 'Art Deco' style. The historical texts which would illuminate the obscure history of the late Eighteenth Dynasty. Students of Egyptian literature were disappointed that the texts found in the tomb belonged completely to traditional groups of religious compilations. And yet nobody who looked

in Oxford, the truly informative *Tutankhamun's Treasure* by Penelope Fox, and the slim volumes of the 'Tutankhamun's Tomb Series'. The constituent parts of the latter represent a serious attempt to make available some of Carter's manuscript material preserved in the Griffith Institute under selected subject-headings. Meritorious though this series is, it remains, sadly, a nibbling at the main problem of publication.

It is to be hoped that the stimulus provided by the exhibition in the British Museum will reinforce the determination of the Egyptian authorities to promote the definitive publication, so long awaited. This year could be particularly auspicious for an undertaking of this kind, for standards of printing and publication in Egypt have vastly improved—the expected volumes will require lavish and careful illustration beyond the expectations of most archaeological works. The treasures of the tomb are only known in part; the same subjects crowd the pages of the popular works—even the same photographs. The grand corpus, when it comes, will truly open people's eyes to what Carter and Carter found fifty years ago. The British Museum exhibition sponsored by Times Newspapers provides but a taste of the whole—but what a taste! The illustrated catalogue at 75p is a joy to handle—and to read.

Historically, the distinction of the Classics was that they were good for you. Their study at any rate in the form in which it was commonly organized might be a trifle arid, but to grudge about that was to miss the point: Greek and Latin had been invented to discipline the mind not to pamper it. Even if it was the Renaissance which brought them back to life it always seemed to be the Puritans who had taken over their transmission. But the asceticism of a Classical education has its reward, of course: former students of the subject could always be pointed to, with a certain pride, as 'excellent'. What was not pointed to was the truth that it was the students themselves who should have got the credit not the Classics; they would never have been invited to take on the Classics in the first place if they had not been gifted. The Classics, and Classicsists, profited from the idea that the subject was a monstrously hard one.

The curriculum, too, went out of its way to make it harder than it need have been. By far, for instance, was no divorce ever possible between Greek and Latin? Latin without Greek was sometimes acceptable; Greek without Latin unthinkable; dead languages, apparently, must stick in pairs. Why, then, painfully still, did Classical literature have to be used for teaching the language, to the point where noble texts came to look like nothing better than repositories of linguistic examples?

The real trouble was that both Greek and Latin had been wrenched out of time and history altogether and advanced to the dubious rank of scholastic myths. It is the recent and abrupt reversion to this process of preservation and technology. A new edition of this *Tomb of Tutankhamun* is published by Sphere Books (£1.50) to coincide with the exhibition. It is Carter brought up to date, that is, in paperback, stripped of appendices and crammed into one volume. What is needed is more, not less.

The absence of a proper record of the young king's tomb furniture and personal possessions has inhibited scholars from undertaking studies in the depth of parts of the collection. The authorities of the Cairo Museum have understandably discouraged the encroaching of specialists of the most attractive groups of objects. Consequently the minor industry of general products which, for the most part, derive from Carter, or unreluctantly, interpretative, and ephemeral. A long list of books devoted to this unattractive subject forms a sad commentary on missed opportunity, but there are exceptions: the publications of the Griffith Institute

and the old prestige of Classical themes and texts may very well not survive

these efforts to return them to the Classics itself could surely be a vital discipline which has not been made.

The self-congratulatory air of Arts Council's twenty-sixth Report (1969) plus 77p of Arts Council, 50p is mercifully livened by Lord Goodman's statement. Lord Goodman, who as chairman, files a far more local authorities' unconcern for cultural health of the nation. It is a far greater probability the enterprising local council would prefer to build an Indian Temple, a concert hall which needs to be and watered. He also offers a frank acknowledgment of the Council's difficulties in deciding how to distribute its funds. He is justly proud of what the Council has achieved in its seven years (Treasury grant from £3,215,000 in 1964-65 to £9,300,000 in 1970-71, and £11,900,000 allocated for 1971-72). Describing the Council as 'a not-for-profit institution in a not-for-profit world' he offers his latest and denied sword to his own (Patrick Gibson) to help defend independence against its determined and embittered enemies.

Rhetoric and irony aside, Goodman's hitherto complaints that Public Funding is still 'not a society so cock-eyed in its values as to allow the author to subsidize and maintain the library'. At a small pace towards the Sather Lectures given at Oxford in 1969 by Hugh Lloyd-Jones, the Regius Professor of Poetry at Oxford.

Of any Regius Professor no doubt may be expected; when his line of succession is from E. R. Dodds, the author of *The Greeks and the Irrational*, one of the few pieces of work in classical studies in this century which can decently be called great. It may be expected to contain the substance of his most striking and standard this book must be as good as the equal of its great predecessor: it is the crystallization of a shaped and deepest in the mind of a new generation about the reality, and indeed about the reality of the past. Such a claim will not be made by those who have understood the work of Dodds and of Murray; Professor Lloyd-Jones, like them, has that of a paradigm of humanism, strike, suspending all and suspending all PIR is granted and self-respect thereby restored. This is to strike the important point of what difference PIR is granted is granted will make to the world and what it ought to do. Mr Gordon clearly has little to say about the Council's general Sir John Wilkin, Secretary and Prospects, and the whole field of the arts is or less entirely defensive of Council's existing policies.

The real trouble was that both Greek and Latin had been wrenched out of time and history altogether and advanced to the dubious rank of scholastic myths. It is the recent and abrupt reversion to this process of preservation and technology. A new edition of this *Tomb of Tutankhamun* is published by Sphere Books (£1.50) to coincide with the exhibition. It is Carter brought up to date, that is, in paperback, stripped of appendices and crammed into one volume. What is needed is more, not less.

The absence of a proper record of the young king's tomb furniture and personal possessions has inhibited scholars from undertaking studies in the depth of parts of the collection. The authorities of the Cairo Museum have understandably discouraged the encroaching of specialists of the most attractive groups of objects. Consequently the minor industry of general products which, for the most part, derive from Carter, or unreluctantly, interpretative, and ephemeral. A long list of books devoted to this unattractive subject forms a sad commentary on missed opportunity, but there are exceptions: the publications of the Griffith Institute

and the old prestige of Classical themes and texts may very well not survive

The dark dictator of Olympus



Head of Zeus from a silver shroud of Philip II of Macedon (c.350 BC).

HUGH LLOYD-JONES
Regius Professor of Poetry
at Oxford

What is justice is a question like what is reality, and the question of the justice of Zeus, which is not impossible to answer since we know so much as another sense, so curiously about the ancient Greeks, is also a question about the reality of their poems and the conditions on which they based their understanding of what was living in the past of Europe, that has never been so clearly posed, and so powerfully answered, as in the Sather Lectures given at Oxford in 1969 by Hugh Lloyd-Jones, the Regius Professor of Poetry at Oxford.

Of any Regius Professor no doubt may be expected; when his line of succession is from E. R. Dodds, the author of *The Greeks and the Irrational*, one of the few pieces of work in classical studies in this century which can decently be called great. It may be expected to contain the substance of his most striking and standard this book must be as good as the equal of its great predecessor: it is the crystallization of a shaped and deepest in the mind of a new generation about the reality, and indeed about the reality of the past. Such a claim will not be made by those who have understood the work of Dodds and of Murray; Professor Lloyd-Jones, like them, has that of a paradigm of humanism, strike, suspending all and suspending all PIR is granted and self-respect thereby restored. This is to strike the important point of what difference PIR is granted is granted will make to the world and what it ought to do. Mr Gordon clearly has little to say about the Council's general Sir John Wilkin, Secretary and Prospects, and the whole field of the arts is or less entirely defensive of Council's existing policies.

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poetry is dark, but it is not impenetrable. The just judgment of Zeus is after all part of worldly and human reality, even though Zeus himself may be supernatural; the gods or God are after all part of nature or Nature, and the sense of a just judgment of Zeus is neither unnatural nor bound up with social progress or the development of rationalism. The Homeric poems are by no means primitive, though they used to be thought so; indeed, the entire model of development from the primitive to the rational and complicated must now perhaps be abandoned in the context of Greek society and probably elsewhere; what had been thought of as stages of development in a chronological series must now be seen as levels of consciousness, of behaviour, and of social convention. Homeric society, in any sense in which it ever existed, was not less 'civilized' than what followed, but because of the conventions of epic poetry different values and different behaviour hold our attention in it. Conversely, the great rationalist intellectuals and poets and politicians of the fifth century still believed or half-believed in the same Zeus as Homer and the same justice of Zeus, if only because of the overwhelming influence of Homeric epic even in the hundred years after true epic poetry seems to have ceased to be written in Greece.

There is a prima facie difficulty for us of taking Zeus seriously in the *Iliad*. In that like Achilles and Thetis he is simply a character in a poem, described in the same lightly honeyed or checkered and thunderous verses, with the same kind of delicacy and extraordinary strength. It used to be thought by a heavenly projection of an earthly political system, and indeed it must inevitably be true that the idea of justice and of the free, deliberate will of Zeus is defined from the experience of life, the thoughts and language of a particular people; but Homeric conceptions of justice are subtle as well as simple, and they have evaded analysis until now. The study of individual words and phrases in recent times has been even less productive than the political abstraction, since it has been ever more mechanical: dealing with a running stream, it requires contemplative and intuitive, as well as active, powers, and will not

succeed without a certain humility and openness to poetry. The proper audience of an epic poem will not consist of commentators any more than of rapid enthusiasts; still less of mechanical scholars. Professor Lloyd-Jones uncovers Zeus and his justice in a masterly lecture; he diminishes his opponents with authority in that he convicts them of underestimating the *Iliad*. The poem we are shown is not more elaborately contrived than the one we thought it was, but it is stronger. It has more news to it, and it is closer to the archaic age. At this point as it others it would be possible to confirm or illustrate his findings, which are those of the straightforward penetration of literature, by the evidence of archaeology and art history. It is remarkable to see how the scanty visual evidence coincides with his view of Homeric poetry. The justice of Zeus was not on invention of moralism or a projection of rationalism, but it was part of Homer's world before it was part of his poetry, and it lies everything else we know about that world.

It would be inadequate to give an account of Professor Lloyd-Jones's line of thought in terms of the adversarial way in which the way, some formally challenged in the text and others impaled in footnotes, but there is one scholar who is more than an adversary, rather a 'doppelgänger' with whom many of the arguments are a conversation, whose work is always present and in relation to whom Professor Lloyd-Jones must define himself: the author of *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Professor Lloyd-Jones's relationship to Professor Dodds is one of tense and intimate intellectual involvement, but where Dodds has stressed development, Lloyd-Jones has stressed the rationality in its emergence and the obstacles it confronted. Lloyd-Jones stresses continually and the preponderant influence of Homer; he is by no means a savage historian. Both aspects of Greek history are objectively present in undisputed evidence, and the two books are in a way complementary; but the Homeric ideal of the justice of Zeus is terrible, and it is timely in these years that it should be stressed, just as Professor Dodds's heroic account of the struggle of reason and the irrational was timely in the late 1940s (it was published in 1951).

It is curious that at a time when the backbone of modern religious

seems to have melted away, Greek scholarship (of all remote enterprises) and the understanding of Homer presents a conception more in keeping with the experience of life in this century than the clergy would dare to entertain.

Human kind, says the hind in Eliot, cannot bear very much reality. The early Greeks were capable of their unique achievements largely because they could hear, as their religion shows, very much more reality than most human beings.

To justify the works of Zeus to man was beyond the scope of even the most rational Greek poet; it was below the dignity of Zeus and above the possibilities of man. Whatever of formal justifications has survived in literature is deeply built into the forms of poetry; it has entered those forms at a popular, almost a proverbial level, before they became great literature, and has deeply penetrated them.

It will be evident that these are the opinions or preconceptions of the reviewer: Professor Lloyd-Jones's own work is more tightly argued, but it is so stimulating that every reader will wish to break in again and again: it is the privilege or disadvantage of a reviewer much moved by a book that he intersects in marginal annotations and in print. Professor Lloyd-Jones has a happiness of opening and closing and of sudden phrases in common with purely literary writers; for example with the sudden sharp resonances of Gibbon; and like Gibbon he has something indefinable in common with the arts in his own day. In the briskness of Gibbon there were other elements remote from scholarly brooding. The best classical scholars in the past 150 years and no doubt much earlier have had an element of poetry in their talent and vocation; they cannot be called poets because since their element in them has been so abundantly fruitful and in verse it would have been less so; it needed for its development the grubby materials and hard intellectual exercise of the scholar's trade, but this is the element which speaks so immediately in their writings, and which separates them so completely from mechanical practitioners. A wide view of ancient literature will not be intoxicating or even acceptable except when it controls details in the well-known manner of the Greek light: wide but uncontrolled views of literature are simply fuzzy, but the genuine breadth of scholarship is a combination of completeness and particularity.

A review of this kind is no place for a profusion of particulars, but a few will be in order. Professor Lloyd-Jones devotes some excellent pages to Hesiod: he points out the ambivalence of Hesiod's social position, his authority as a poet and his lack of standing as a peasant farmer, his view of humanity is modest and his hopes in Zeus more natural than personal. Indeed one could reasonably say that if justice is not natural it is nothing. It is obscure in what way Hesiod's conception of a just order is any advance on the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*; there is a difference of genre certainly, but not one it is possible to explain chronologically with the least assurance. As Professor Lloyd-Jones points out, Homer reveals the world of gods as well as the world of men, both in epic verse; and this difference from later, more numinous writers has many consequences. There were certainly lyric poets in Homer's day, and the more early lyric poetry is recovered from papyrus, the longer and darker

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FABER & FABER

The three Tiepolos

ALDO RIZZI

The Etchings of the Tiepolos
456pp including 258 plates. Phaidon.
£18.50.

For a few years in the middle of the eighteenth century the art of the painter-etcher suddenly underwent a new maturation in Venice. The three outstanding figures in this movement were the elder Tiepolo, Canaletto and Piranesi, whose *Corcori* were probably produced in the city, though their creator spent most of his life in Rome, the bulk of his work being concerned with its remains of antiquity. On a rather lower level were Marietti, with his rightly titled *Manifatture*... *Urbanis Venetiarum Prospectus*, the most romantic of Venetian view-books, and Tiepolo's two sons Giandomenico and Lorenzo, who used the medium chiefly, though not entirely, for the reproduction of their father's work.

In the autumn of 1970, the bicentenary of Giovanni Battista Tiepolo's death was celebrated at Udine by an extensive exhibition, "Le acquedotti del Tiepolo", organized by A. Rizzi, the active and enterprising director of the city's municipal museum. The large, well-illustrated catalogue produced on that occasion formed the most comprehensive study of the etchings of the three Tiepolos available at that date and amplified in several respects the earlier catalogue published in de Vosper's *Le peintre-graveur italien* in 1906. The present handsomely produced volume is in effect a translation and revision of this catalogue for which the author has written a new and longer preface. To his early catalogue Dr Rizzi has added to the oeuvre of Giandomenico: one work unrecorded in the earlier volume (known only from a unique pull in the Bassano Museum); two prints to that of Giandomenico (three if

the purely typographical but dated dedication page to the catalogue of his father's, his own and his brother's prints, issued in 1775, is included; and one by Lorenzo, of which a unique state has recently come to light in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe at Rome. All the etchings are reproduced on a legible scale and the author has added and illustrated thirteen further works, produced either by G. B. Tiepolo in collaboration with other artists or by imitators of his style—and those that have been wrongly attributed to him by earlier writers.

The result is a valuable and interesting book and one exceedingly pleasing to the eye. But in two respects Dr Rizzi has been unfortunate in the timing of his publication. Recently the Dutch scholar, L. C. Frerichs, found, inserted into the binding of the *Le Livre d'Acquisition du Cabinet du Roy dans la vente Mariette* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, a series of documents of considerable importance for the controversial question of the dating of the *Scherzi di Fantasia*. Although Dr Rizzi was made aware of these documents at the International Tiepolo Congress held at Udine in September, 1970, his introduction is dated seven months earlier than the full publication and discussion of them by Frerichs, which appeared in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* last October. The book was also completed far too early for Dr Rizzi to see the two volumes once in the possession of A. M. Zanotti which include a number of proof copies of the *Scherzi* with corrections in pen and ink made almost certainly by Giandomenico himself. These recently came to light in the Rosenwald collection. They are currently on show at the National Gallery, Washington, and a most interesting and lavishly-illustrated catalogue by H. Diana Russell has been issued in connection with it. These newly discovered prints are particularly significant be-

cause the documents published by Frerichs refer to the elder Tiepolo as actually putting various plates of two of the *Scherzi* with the intention of perfecting them. Although no corrected proofs are actually known, and it seems that the "improvements" were never carried out, it is likely that the pen and ink corrections in the Zanotti/Rosenwald albums are our only evidence of Giandomenico's intentions in this respect.

Tiepolo's main series of etchings presents two crises: the question of dating, and the question of whether the *Scherzi* were executed before or after the *Capricci*. In discussing the dating of the *Scherzi*, Rizzi, arguing from stylistic considerations, asserts that "one fails to see how the *Scherzi* could be dated after the *Capricci* (which were first published in the second edition of Zanetti's *Diversarii Iconum* in 1743). The French documents, however, strongly suggest (though not perhaps quite so strongly as Frerichs argues) that only twenty of the twenty-four plates of the *Scherzi di Fantasia* were yet completed by 1757, and the catalogue of the Washington exhibition argues strongly and convincingly against Rizzi's hypothesis, to support the conclusion implicit in the Mariette documents that the *Scherzi* date from later than the *Capricci*. To the present reviewer, this has always seemed obvious on stylistic grounds, but others have frequently taken the opposite view.

But whichever way the controversy is resolved (if it ever is), Rizzi's book, useful as it is, must be studied in connection with the Washington *Scherzi* described and illustrated in detail, but also the documents unearthed by Frerichs in the Bibliothèque Nationale are reproduced photographically, transferred for readability and translated into English. Both publications are essential for any serious student of Tiepolo's art.

The young Klee

HANS K. ROETHEL

Paul Klee in München
Unnumbered pages. Bern: Stämpfli.
45 Sw fr.

This is a straightforward, charming and intelligible book about Paul Klee's artistic education, self-discovery and early attempts at becoming an artist during the years he lived in Munich. He studied for three of them (1898-1901), worked for fifteen (1901-15, 1919-20) and spent a further four years in the German army (1915-19). Hans Konrad Roethel states clearly at the outset that Paul Klee in München is not intended

to present new and unfamiliar material, but to set out facts and ideas which are pretty familiar, in such a way as to open up paths of understanding leading to Klee's personality and work in a limited field.

This volume of watercolours and drawings—42 in colour and 41 in black-and-white—is therefore not a catalogue of everything that Klee painted (more than 400 pieces) in those years. It is a representative selection of works, with extracts from letters and journals, brought together to illuminate Klee's deliberate experiments in different styles and with different media, through which he came to discover the expressive possibilities first of line, then of tone, and finally of the whole range of the colour-scale from 1914 onwards. Dr Roethel has kept his introduction purely factual and historical; he does not concern himself with style criticism, interpretation or art-history.

He begins by setting the scene to

show why Klee went to Munich what he found there. What he found there, between 1898 and 1901, the most lively cultural centre in Europe after Paris, according to the author, was not, to start with, creativity and invention of new life, the soundness of academic teaching, the exacting artistic expression which was encouraged by the Secession, the development of Jugendstil, and easy access to modern large-scale painting, especially French. It was Roethel shows, this alive and the fact that German art had attracted Klee to Munich rather than to Paris when, in 1898, he was only 18 years of age. From there Dr Roethel records the friendships which Klee made in Munich, his close contacts with Blaue Reiter and other group members, his manifold activities, the various exhibitions and the reproductions of drawings and letters, selected in the book such confrontations will provide more insight into what was feeling and hoping to do than would an expository text.

This excellently produced book is a useful addition to the Munich and Dr Roethel deserves commendation above all for the planatory information which is conveniently provided in the notes.

Venerable images

H. P. GERHARD

The World of Icons
Translated by Irene R. Oibbons
232pp. John Murray. £7.50.

VLADIMIR SOLOUKHIN:
Searching for Icons in Russia
Translated by P. S. Filla
191pp. Hurvill Press. £2.50.

Icons have taken many years to gain the recognition of Western collectors; and though they are now starting to do so, they are still often misunderstood, misjudged, and thus either under-valued or over-valued. *The World of Icons* should do much to redress the balance, for from the outset it clearly sketches the early Christian attitude to images and their veneration. It defines the role assigned to icons by the early Church, still adhered to by the Orthodox Church today, and then examines the various elements which quickly fused to form the basis of iconic art. These sections are essential for the development of intelligent appreciation and here they also make easy and interesting reading. As Director of the Icon Museum at Recklinghausen, Dr Gerhard writes with authority and also with infectious enthusiasm.

Individual chapters deal with Byzantium and the Balkans, Russia, and "Pictures inside the church". The brief outline of how icons were made and decorated is lucid, and though confined to essentials mentions all the salient facts. The same is true of the final chapter, on schools of the painting and dating of icons, which should enable the general reader to form an idea of the difficulties confronting specialists.

The chronological table is superficial and limited in scope. The bibliography is comprehensive, and there is a welcome list of museum and exhibition catalogues, but regrettably the National Gallery of Ireland's collection is not mentioned. There are three maps and thirty-five plates, and sixty-eight monochrome reproductions. These are well chosen, and while naturally including familiar icons, an important number of less well-known icons are also illustrated. The translation is well done.

Searching for Icons in Russia differs in every way from Dr Gerhard's learned work; yet anyone interested in the Soviet Union should

read it. It is a captivating book because of the information it contains, which is elementary, but because it is well written, as is expected from Vladimir Soloukhin, nor even because of his amusing comments on his own collecting, from magpie to collector, nor because of his clear and less Latin and Greek in gleam of light it brings to the reader as a country and less as a connoisseur. Through the eyes of a collector, we get a clear glimpse of the Russian and systematic destruction of Russia's magnificent religious art of official blindness to its own art and ignorance of its value.

We are encouraged to see icons either for their artistic merits or as the remains of a past age, and to think of them as wise useless, as without meaning, as the product of superstition, or even thought of in the Soviet Union. Yet one wonders whether the icons which have escaped destruction and have been put in museums are not in fact performing the same function as the icons which were destroyed. Mr Soloukhin, to Russia's credit, is not content with the mere return of the icons to the churches, but is concerned with the meaning of the icons which fascinate them.

The revised edition of John Honessy's *Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (365pp. Phaidon) originally reviewed in the April 10, 1959) retains the introductory text which indicated the need of any ambitious collector of Italian sculpture and additions to the notes. The book is a masterpiece of clarity and insight, and has accepted John Honessy's role of looking at Greek buildings or statues, just as their forefathers were stimulated by the findings of archaeology. This book is now the best-known of its kind, and the author's aim of attitude has been of course fed back, the supply of popular accounts of classical antiquity. It has encouraged the study of the Mediterranean, and to dig funds, an increased appreciation of antiquities and a more popular national bias towards the classical world. Yet what is most impressive in the details of daily life, the buildings, the nature of the classical world, the stuff of classical world where it can most easily be understood of what happened in ancient Greece and Italy.

Putting places to names

BY GERALD CADOGAN



The most recent Minoan country house to be excavated is at Pyrgos in South Crete. It was graced with a staircase which is a miniature of the Grand Staircase of the Palace at Knossos, and may have been designed by the same architect. The house burnt down c.1450 B.C.

diggers' archaeology is prehistory, where there is not a lot of ancient writing to disturb one's modern interpretations; but in classical archaeology prehistory lasts only until the second millennium. During the second millennium early Greek law returns appeared, written in Linear B, with Minoan predecessors which we cannot yet understand but, on present evidence, the use of Linear B did not survive the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces around 1200, when writing was apparently lost to Greece until the eighth century.

There are periods, then, of Greek history when there was little or no writing, and there are areas which are little documented, such as the Greek expansion in Afghanistan. The counterpoint that ensues of words and things and contexts has at times made it difficult to give a rationale of classical archaeology, as C. M. Robinson explained in his inaugural lecture at Oxford in 1962, "Between Archaeology and Art history". But Archaeology and Art history are, as I think it is to the many who think the only tools an excavator has are a mason's trowel and a toothbrush, while he is afraid of the large black axe; but the excavator must always choose what is appropriate to achieve the best results, bearing in mind the limitations of archaeological evidence. Archaeology is most valuable for the history of technology and of art, followed by economic history generally. It can say much about society, but little of religion or politics or personal behaviour. Governed as we are by people and politics and religion, we must be wary of models of ancient society based totally on economic considerations. Some archaeologists purvey them, but the evidence they are based on is only a fraction of the total, as one can see if one stops to try to reconstruct oneself from only the things of one's daily life.

What one cannot reconstruct is motive. The Swedish policeman who is studying the fingerprints of the ancients is precluded from giving them a caution and taking a statement. ("Now, Prince Theodor, how did you find this telling me, how did you come to burn down the palace of Knossos in the spring of 1300? Or was it just an accident?") His can-

niques does not excuse the archaeologist from making judgments. He may well have to decide what he thinks will give the most useful information about the ancients; and this will necessarily reflect his own attitudes towards them and towards life now: an excavation, for instance, is among other things a constant exercise in making decisions. What matters in both excavating and the use of other archaeological techniques is the quality of observation, imagination and judgment, and the prizes do not always go to the slow, who hope to be sure. This may be surprising, as I know it is to the many who think the only tools an excavator has are a mason's trowel and a toothbrush, while he is afraid of the large black axe; but the excavator must always choose what is appropriate to achieve the best results, bearing in mind the limitations of archaeological evidence. Archaeology is most valuable for the history of technology and of art, followed by economic history generally. It can say much about society, but little of religion or politics or personal behaviour. Governed as we are by people and politics and religion, we must be wary of models of ancient society based totally on economic considerations. Some archaeologists purvey them, but the evidence they are based on is only a fraction of the total, as one can see if one stops to try to reconstruct oneself from only the things of one's daily life.

The primary material that everyone wants is, or very shortly will be, the site better still, a finite site complex with evidence of successive ecological situations below, within and around it (Charles Thomas).

not even have a look at diaries, letters and notes found at the scene of the crime. The only notes at Knossos are the bills and accounts left there when it burnt; but they are still a help, as they are the evidence of Greek control and of the bureaucracy at Knossos in 1380. In later times, of course, classical archaeology is blessed in that it has literature to give body to our understanding of the non-written evidence. Imagine trying to reconstruct the Athenian system of government from the archaeology alone, or Greek myths only from vase paintings and sculpture.

What are the techniques of archaeology? The first of the principal techniques is prospecting, whose business is to find new sites and to establish patterns of living and land use. The best way to prospect is to walk. When you walk, you are aware of the land as the peasants who work it are (which is why so many archaeologists were on special missions in the war) and as the ancients were. You begin to understand the values of Greek peasants, the importance of honour and the strength of rural conservatism and of an ethical system well known in Homer. You realize how both the way of life and the use of the land can be affected by political and economic factors which the peasants cannot control.

At the same time you are forced to think of changes since antiquity: how much deforestation has there been? What effects has this had on rainfall and fertility? How has the two-stroke engine, used since the war to power water pumps and mangle ploughs, affected the pattern? In Crete I am constantly surprised that the plains and the seaside, the most fertile ground, have been inhabited in no more than three periods in the long history of the island: Minoan times—especially between 1650 and 1450 B.C.—Roman times, and the twentieth century, which have been the only times when there has been security from attack. A good Minoan example of the confidence this represents is in the siting of the palace of Zakro in East Crete. It is set on such low ground and so close to the sea that when Hogarth excavated there at the beginning of the century, he chose the foothill just above the palace and missed it by a few metres.

After prospecting, digging. Digging is the most prolific source of new evidence of the past and is much overpraised. To be worthwhile it needs prompt reporting—too many excavations have gone back to the ground with their excavators. When digging has achieved barely needs real life, the recovery of a second-century shrine below St Peter's in Rome, or of the physical evidence of Greek colonization are typical achievements. In the Aegean the greatest, I suppose, is the recovery of the Bronze Age.

One can dig to prove theories, as Schliemann did at Troy, or to answer questions, as Evans began to do at Knossos, and sometimes to find *ouija pragmata* (lovely things), often nowadays to recover the past before it is destroyed. Digging is an art: it needs skill, judgment and confidence. You can never be sure you are doing the right thing, but you are a better digger if you do not let that worry you too much. You must be prepared to cope with many disciplines, a growing number as archaeologists realize how many can be applied to the study of human contexts, or man in his environment, which is what digging is about.

These new possibilities are producing a new metaphysics of archaeology, one which is much influenced by modern social studies. We read in a recent issue of *Antiquity*: "The primary material that everyone wants is, or very shortly will be, the site better still, a finite site complex with evidence of successive ecological situations below, within and around it (Charles Thomas)."

Of course we want to know what the ancients ate and wore, what lives they led for building, what the climate was like, how tall they were, how long they lived and the diseases they suffered, and the technical processes



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they used and how they might have learnt them. All the same, we must not forget which is the more important: the man in his environment. In a narrow sense "the credo that they [i.e. up-to-date archaeologists] are digging up neither people nor things but ecologies" (the same author) is correct. That is what one is digging: but to understand what one is digging, ecologies are not enough. "Total recovery of the evidence, which it is our duty as excavators to attempt, is not total recovery of ancient man."

Excavation leads on to study of the objects, which must be published, and re-published when new evidence or new ways of grouping the material demand. Pottery is the best preserved evidence and the most studied. It has been handled in many ways: Firminiaux has divided Mycenaean pottery by a syntax based on shape and motif; J. N. Coldstream's *Greek Geometric Pottery* is less apparently regimented, being governed by style, and so is John Boardman's elucidation of Euboean Geometric pottery, which has established the early trading activities of the Euboeans from the mouth of the Omphalos to a settlement on Ischia. Beazley's work in identifying the painters of Attic pottery was different again, the greatest accomplishment yet of art history for any period. (In terms of Aegean archaeology, I should put Evans's resurrection of the Minoans on a par with Beazley's work.) Following Beazley, some are advancing knowledge by applying his methods to other areas, such as South Italy, and in other periods, such as Mycenaean Pictorial vases, or by the study of iconography. One can compare mythical scenes on vases with myths in literature, which is most important evidence in the eighth and seventh centuries for the origins of myths; other scenes illustrate comedy and tragedy, and others may be allegories of political history.

This progress has been in attribution and iconography: what painted the pots and what they show. Viewed just as pots, however, they give much information and promise more about ancient connections and trade and they link different areas of the Mediterranean in time. Virginia Grace's work on the ancient vases trade reveals, for example, that Rhodian was

most popular in Alexandria: over 85 per cent of some 20,000 amphora handles which have been examined in Alexandria have the stamps of manufacture in Rhodes. Other artefacts promise as much about trade and the movement of artists and craftsmen or about technical tricks learnt from abroad. The study of objects can luckily go on for ever—there are mountains of unpublished finds—and the more it is practised, the better we shall understand the past and the better we shall dig.

What have the techniques of archaeology achieved? For a start, they have resurrected the Minoans and Mycenaeans and the Dark Age that followed them. The Minoans of Crete lived, and taught the Mycenaeans on the mainland, a way of life quite different from any lived in later times in Greece. Palaces were the centres of Minoan civilization. Begun around 1900 m, they were sacred precincts, the homes of semi-divine royalty, the offices of the first of Mediterranean bureaucracies, the storehouses of vast quantities of farm produce and the places where the arts were patronized. Below the Minoan palaces a number of grand country houses flourished between c. 1600 and 1450, which may have been built and lived in by Minoans who became landed gentry.

Each country house has an obvious unit of land around it, which may have been its domain, and usually a fine view. They are well built, often to the excellence of the palaces, and equipped in the same way as the palaces, but on a smaller scale. For parallels for such civilization in the wilderness, one does not think of classical Greece but rather of Roman villas, or of villas in the Veneto, or country houses in the British Isles. What the discovery of the Bronze Age palaces and country houses has won is not just the finding of the centres of Minoan and Mycenaean culture but, much more surprisingly, the recovery of a new social and political system to add to those known to us from the ancient authors.

The mosaics of Homer are far removed from the Bronze Age. Nothing so intrinsic as a bureaucracy occurs in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. Indeed, there is scarcely a mention of writing. In the four-and-a-half centuries between the Mycenaean palaces and Homer had come the end of Mycenaean culture and per-

haps the arrival of the Dorians. The Dorians are of great archaeological importance, since they do not exist in archaeological terms. There is no feature of the culture of Late Helladic IIC or of Proto-geometric that can be identified as Dorian to support the legends.

A similar ghost invasion of Greece is that by the Slavs in the sixth and seventh centuries AD. The Slav invasions are recorded in the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* but the sole archaeological evidence is a cemetery of cremation burials in hand-made jars at Olympia which have parallels in Yugoslavia, though, as at the end of the Bronze Age, there may be a number of refugee settlements where the original inhabitants could have fled. These startling examples of the flimsiness of archaeological evidence can be added to another equally startling. There is no archaeological proof that the city of Troy (Troy VIIa) destroyed at the end of the thirteenth century was in fact burnt down by an alliance of Mycenaean Greeks. The archaeological puzzles are rather: what does the imported Mycenaean pottery found in Troy VI and VII reflect? Was it trade? If so, in what? And why was Troy VIIa burnt down, evidently after preparations against a siege?

Deciding about the historical basis of the siege of Troy is just one of many problems in doing what is described in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The discovery of the Bronze Age in the past hundred years, coupled with the work of Milman Parry in establishing the oral tradition behind Homer and the decipherment of Linear B as Greek, produced some years ago a climax of emphasis on the Mycenaean nature of Homer. At the same time, though, our knowledge of Geometric Greece was improving.

Now, with a new picture of the cultural groups of the ninth and eighth centuries, both in mainland Greece and in Greek colonies abroad, and with new knowledge of Greek relations with the Phoenicians, and of the revival of the alphabet and the appearance of mythical scenes in vase-painting, we can have a more judicious view of Homer. We can recognize the fusion of Bronze Age and Geometric in both background and details, which is exactly what

one would expect if there was a living tradition over several centuries. (And if there was, that is a good reason for believing that Troy really was besieged and taken.) At the Bronze Age end a more sympathetic approach is to study the Mycenaeans' interest in narrative art, which may well have lasted in poetry through the Dark Age. At both ends new discoveries continue to force new attitudes. The sets of bronze bull's head paws found in recent years in the Argolid, one of c. 1400, the other of the end of the eighth century, give us the problem of whether references in Homer to such sets are an old or a new part of the epic tradition. Less contentiously, the finding of a clay tablet of the tenth century in two tombs at Lefkandi in Euboea in 1971 is just what we want as evidence of a Dark Age mythical tradition before Homer that we can otherwise only guess at.

In the Classical period, despite Beazley's elucidation of artists and the current work in iconography, many historians have been slow to see if archaeology can help them. They are doubtless aware of the works of art and that inscriptions often turn up in Classical excavations; and they will have thought about the comparisons made between works in stone and clay and those in writing in discerning the spirit of the times. But how much attention have they given to the details of what the vase painters drew, the possibilities of recovering illegible illustrations of contemporary events? And, in diggers' archaeology, how many know that a reasonably well-off Athenian built a house in the Attic countryside on the main route from the Peloponnese? In historical terms the most likely date for the construction of this house is after the peace of Nicias and before the Decelean War, when the house was abandoned. Building this house in such an exposed position at that time is evidence of the confidence of at least one prosperous Athenian in a continuing peace after the Archidamian War.

Classical archaeology has other marvelous opportunities in its evidence of economic history for the ancient historian prepared to look up from his texts. This evidence is growing continuously, particularly in trade and settlement patterns. A recent study has shown that Samian

olive oil in its distinctive amphora was imported into Athens to support Attic production in the second half of the fourth century, though not by then been going to Egypt. Two centuries' useful evidence of the history of three areas. I have mentioned has been assisted by ancient historians, and will be possible to write history of Greece that take notice of the evidence, both written and unwritten. There are now all too few such syntheses in the area, perhaps the best examples where the historians actually dirty their hands, discussing what has been found in the earth are studies of, say, Roman Britain or Roman Germany. Greece they are the studies of pre-Classical period, where there is less written evidence. It is a pity, written in the fifth century which help so much in the sixth or seventh centuries.

This cursory survey has been written on Greece, as I know best. I hope it has shown the importance of the land of Greece, and that one can trace between the history of the Bronze Age and the history of the Classical period, and the history of the Roman period, and the history of the modern period, and the history of the future. The authors are named with pining Linnaean taxonomy and systematics firmly

Gerald Collingwood is a Lecturer at Christ Church, Oxford, and Director of Excavations at Mycenae in Crete.

Diggers' guide

PAUL ASTROM (Compiler): *Who's Who in Cypriot Archaeology* 88pp. Goleborg: Paul Astroms Forlag. Sw Kr 65.

The most enjoyable books to review are not necessarily the most useful in everyday life: *Who's Who in Cypriot Archaeology* is extremely enjoyable. It is an alphabetic list of contemporary scholars in this important field, with bibliographies, selective biographies, and a number of photographs. The temptation to concentrate on the latter is, unfortunately, almost overwhelming. Not only are there several scholars who are engagingly recall Alastair Sim, but there is a marked national tendency both among the English and the Greeks to look like "Wanted" posters in a variety of categories.

The French are by a long way the best-documented, with the exception of Professor Kazimierz Michalowski of Warsaw, who looks like some magnificent eagle, and in fact alone among all these photographs looks what he is; a very distinguished archaeologist. The text will be a useful instrument to students of the subject. The scholars listed include the chief of the police fingerprint department at Stockholm and the author of an article on "Zwei kyprische Konjunktoren" in *Glotta* for 1966, but the work is not comprehensive, since it is restricted to contemporary scholars which detracts both from its usefulness and from its interest to

anyone but the organizers of conferences; there could be no reference for example to the curious fact that among the first excavations undertaken by the British School of Archaeology at Athens there was one in Cyprus, for which a report was published by M. R. James in 1901. Here also is the sad story of Davidson Black and Franz Weidner and their wonderful specimen of a Peking Man, lost in the Second World War. Here is the story of the discovery of the bones of Neanderthal and Louis Leakey and their contributions to tracking fossil

man. The work of John Boardman carried down in the *Addenda* to the *Who's Who* is a valuable book. John Boardman and Dorothy Martin's *Greek Burial Customs* (1971) is a useful book. There is no reference to the important commentary of R. Dawkins on the *Chronicle of Pausanias*, which contains archaeological observations of some importance. It is possibly illegitimate to say that the book is only a "Byzantinology" in a few cases, and that the work of Thomas Dawkins, being dead, was left since at least this work of his is important enough to be reprinted. It does not describe the work of three years ago in Cyprus, but that is a living subject, and it is a pity that the book is not more up-to-date. The use of the word "fossil" does not demand and some not, and some answered a question, but in general it is a pity that the book is not more up-to-date. It is a pity that the book is not more up-to-date. It is a pity that the book is not more up-to-date.

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At the taxonomic interface

JAMES A. STAFFLEU: *Linnaeus and the Linnaeans: The Spreading of their Ideas in the Netherlands 1735-1789*. Utrecht: A. Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V. for the Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. 1970. 314 pp. Dfl. 13.60.

It is the exception perhaps of Darwin and Aristotle, the thought of the naturalist has been so frequently explored as that of the eighteenth-century Swede Carl Linnaeus. Yet James Staffleu and James

Staffleu, operating from much the same vantage-point, can still dissect a new and important material. The book is not only of value to Linnaeanists, but of all those involved with the history of the natural sciences. The authors are named with pining Linnaean taxonomy and systematics firmly

within their historical context in order to assess more accurately the limitations and innovations that Linnaeus brought to botany. The inferences are taken beyond this, however, to encompass zoology also and finally to reach into the total outlook of the eighteenth century with regard to the natural world.

This was an age that had inherited from Aristotelian science two fundamental and apparently irreconcilable concepts: the idea of a hierarchy of beings, and the idea that natural objects form a kind of continuum. The hierarchy rescued the naturalist from the bewildering and seemingly chaotic profusion of plants and animals, thus equating natural history with inventory. The idea of continuity, of qualities linking natural forms by multiple affinities in a continuous sequence, fostered a belief in natural groups. In turn, this cast a shadow of artificiality over the hierarchical system, whose principle of *emboisement* and selection of a few readily defined "characters" clearly had heuristic value but no counterpart in reality. It was at the interface between these two Aristotelian concepts that the predecessors of Linnaeus searched for a system.

Those who survive. Who survive? The fittest. It is therefore a pity to find Darwin saddled with this notion without comment in a modern work.

Another mistake about Darwin is the idea that "modern scientists... have modified Darwin's theory to reflect a new realization that it is fertility that must crucially determine survival". There are some such "modern scientists", and George Gaylord Simpson is unfortunately among them, but this error is due to insufficient care in following Darwin's thought and just. The authors' stance is doubly erroneous: fertility does not "determine survival", but on the contrary is a possible advantage conferred by survival. Whenever he used the word "survival" so as a form of shorthand to mean those individuals who live long enough to leave a large number of offspring, this point is so fundamental that it is regrettable to find it mis-stated today. Yet it is perfectly clear to anyone who takes the trouble (perhaps, today, people don't) to read the *Origin of Species*: "of those

the authors' crisp prose is a reading and they have sound ideas on the dangers of giving new names to taxonomic groups. The newly-found fossil, but their page sketch of the history of taxonomy is less satisfactory. For one familiar with the subject, it is difficult. For those who are not, it is a disaster. The term "survival of the fittest" was coined by the biologist Herbert Spencer, and not by Darwin as the authors claim. Darwin allowed himself to be misled by the shallow-minded and Russel Wallace to adopt it in his edition of his *Origin of Species*. It is a thoroughly unfortunate expression for a number of reasons. It does not describe the work of natural selection accurately at all, it conveys nothing of the meaning of how adaptations are improved. The use of the word "fittest" does not demand and some not, and some answered a question, but in general it is a pity that the book is not more up-to-date. It is a pity that the book is not more up-to-date. It is a pity that the book is not more up-to-date.

Stone is a most intractable material from which to make objects to preconceived design, and for the first 500,000 years of the two millennia during which man and his forebears have been making stone tools, little advance in method was made from the chopper and biface core tools, generally known as hand-axes. Yet even these seemingly crude and primitive tools are not easy to make, and the modern student will find it hard to knap one: he may conclude that any palaeolithic artefact who had sufficient skill and know-

ledge of his medium to make a good hand-axe would certainly have the intelligence to pass A level examinations if he received a modern education.

Flint is easily broken, but controlling its breaking to produce a required result is an art that needs much practice. Modern knowledge of how this can be done is derived from the study of the methods used by primitive people now, or recently, living in different parts of the world at a Stone Age cultural level, and by experimental manufacture, using modern tools. Careful, even microscopic, study of the faceting of ancient artefacts reveals much about how they were made, and similar scrutiny of the marks of wear shows how they were used, though much research remains to be done in elucidating the last point.

Throughout most of prehistory improvement in the form of stone tools advanced slowly, but it became highly refined some 10,000 years ago when the Neolithic techniques produced exquisitely worked flint which in their final stages were sometimes copied in stone of metal tools. This interesting book is well illustrated with photographs of ancient tools, many with diagrams showing how they were made—it amounts to a do-it-yourself guide for the flint knapper.

Knap-it-yourself

JACQUES BORDAZ: *Tools of the Old and New Stone Age* 145pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles. £1.95.

Anyone who examines a worked flint may well wonder what manner of man made it, how he made it, and why. Primitive man, before he discovered the use of metals, doubtless used many materials for making the artefacts that helped him to earn his living, but most of them were so perishable that few except those made of stone have survived. Jacques Bordaz describes the different kinds of stone implements and the techniques used in making them, and suggests the uses for which they were made.

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Another shock is to find consideration given to the nonsense that Neanderthal Man may be represented by the "Abominable Snowman". The authors seem to be ignorant of the researches carried out by the Director of the Natural History Museum in London, when he made Himalayan monkeys in the Zoo swamp about on plaster of Paris and obtained footprints that matched those photographed in the snow in the Himalayas, and were made by monkeys whose description matched that of travellers who were told by natives what the creature was like. It is the languor monkey, *Presbytis entellus* vulgarly *achilles*. Some legends take an unconscionable time to die. The blurb says of the book that it describes "the discoveries in Japan and China of Homo erectus" (sic, in one word). For "Japan", read "Java".

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insight into the ideas and methods of Linnaeus, the 365 aphorisms of the *Philosophia botanica* are analysed in terms of the hierarchy (for instance, *Lupinus creceus*, *Vegetabilia creceus* & *vecuti*, *Animalia creceus*, *vecuti* & *vecuti*, *vecuti* & *vecuti*). This is followed by a discussion of the importance of the generic reform (one of his major achievements), Linnaeus's binary or binomial nomenclature as a simple coding device, and finally a rather meagre snippet on the Linnaean collections.

Part one is rounded off with an account of the three systems published by Linnaeus, of which the sexual system had the greatest impact, provoking full measures of praise, scorn and downright hostility on purely moral grounds. It was based on the essentially Aristotelian notion that in plants the more vegetative principle served to sustain the individual whereas the reproductive principle served the future of the species; in reproduction, fertilization is the most important aspect, ergo the essential parts are the stamens and pistils.

Linnaeus inherited this "essentiality" of the organs of fructification from a line of botanists stretching back to Celsus. His refinement of it was more than just a simple and ingenious arithmetical system, but he never considered his sexual system of classification to be more than a succedaneum for a natural system. This aspect of Linnaean thought is better explained by Mr. Staffleu, but at this stage Professor Staffleu has told only half his story and part two unfolds the tale of how Linnaeus ideas took root in some countries (a solid victory in Great Britain after about 1759) and

met with a mixed reception in others (France, Germany). There is a considerable amount of detail and many useful references on botanists of this period to 1789, when the author rightly sees as a turning-point, not only in political and social history, but also in scientific thinking. What emerges from this picture is a Linnaeus who worked within a philosophical framework that was rapidly becoming antiquated, the more modern nominalist and empiricist approaches gradually replacing essentialist thinking. Linnaeus stood at the end of one era, but with his devices for collecting, storing and retrieving systematic data (the flower, after all, is crammed with useful information) he made possible the advance to a clearer understanding.

Both of these books have done an excellent service to Linnaean studies by drawing together their own and other scholars' musings on the master's outlook and method. From time to time they refer to modern explorations of taxonomic and systematic theory, for example in the works of A. J. Cain and David Hull, as well as in the writings of Ernst Cassirer. We are currently witnessing a period of clarification, a questioning and tightening of hitherto accepted concepts in systematic, the application of logic and set theory to taxonomy, the last sweepings of Aristotelian essentialism from the cornucopia. What is missing, and it is especially noticeable in *Reason and Experience*, is a fuller discussion of the relevance of such Linnaean studies to the turmoil of new ideas, from numerical taxonomy to Willi Hennig's phylogeny of "sister groups". Possibly this is the book that each author hopes to write; certainly, each has laid the basis for such a study.

Byzantium—The Slavs

Studies in Byzantine Art and Archaeology by Manolis Chatzidakis. 416pp. 218 illus. Index. £25. Reprint of 18 major studies published since 1938, in English, French and Greek. With a preface by Kurt Weitzmann.

Littérature et histoire des textes byzantins by Jean Darroulès. 472pp. Index. £25. Reprint of 21 studies in French by the Director of the Institut français d'études byzantines.

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Byzantine, Norman, Swabian and later Institutions in Southern Italy by Antonio M. Leone. 432pp. Index. £25. Southern Italy's medieval institutions from the angle of both private and public law. 22 studies in Italian, French and English.

Cartulary A of St. John Prodromos Monastery 280 pp. £12. The first facsimile edition of Prælogi Ms. XXV.C.9.605; introduced by Iva Dujčová.

A Lexikon to the Glory of God (Greek-Russian 18th c.) 200 pp. £10. The first facsimile edition of Paris Ms. suppl. græc. 1117, intriguing for the questions it poses to philologists and Orthodox historians.

Monumenta ad SS Cyrilli et Methodii successorum vitas resque gestas pertinentia by N. L. Traklet. Reprint of the Sergiev Posad 1918 edition. 180 pp. £10. Practically unobtainable, this is a fundamental work on the Vita S. Clementis.

Istoriko-literaturny obzor drevne-russkikh polemicheskikh sochinenii protiv latinian (XI-XV vv.) by A. N. Popov. Reprint of the Moscow 1875 edition. 436 pp. £12. Historico-literary outline of Old Russian and Catholic polemical works of the 11th to 15th centuries.

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Archaic in pictures

J. CHARBONNEAU, R. MARTIN and P. VILLARD: *Archaic Greek Art 620-480 BC*. Translated by James Emmons and Robert Allen. 437pp. Thames and Hudson. £10.50.

In recent years there have been a great many big and generously illustrated books on Greek art both generally and in one or other of its branches. *Archaic Greek Art*, which weighs all of 51b, is the second of four volumes intended to display the painting, sculpture and architecture of the Greeks stage by stage. Archaic, being still fashionable, gets more than a quarter of the total space and so this volume begins only of 620 ac, a date tolerable for sculpture, but a bit arbitrary for painting. Further, the period 620-480 ac is split into three parts, entitled "The Early Archaic Period" (620-580 ac), "Equilibrium and Progress" (580-525 ac) and "The Late Archaic Period" (525-480 ac). This subdivision makes sense only for vase-painting, but perhaps the editors thought it imprudent to subject their readers to longer chapters. A similar impression is given also by the proportion between pictures and texts, which is roughly three to one: the appendix excluded—or 150 words to each illustration.

The choice of illustrations, nearly a quarter of them in colour, is good, with some well and some less well-known subjects. The photographs are mostly taken at correct angles, fairly lighted and reproduced sharply, and the colouring seems better than average for faithfulness to the original. The plans, which

style, have been redrawn in a uniform style, make a neat show but have a certain coarseness of line; and their alignment with brown tints is helpful for distinguishing successive buildings on the same site, but on unnecessary and even misleading. The text is disappointing. The authors are all specialists of distinction in the subjects on which they write, but they have not the space to write much and perhaps they were warned not to be too pedantic. F. Villard shows an appreciative lucidity, especially in his third chapter, where he can concentrate on the early-figured vase-painting; but to benefit from the other two contributors the reader needs to start with some general knowledge of their fields. For instance, though the Doric and Ionic orders were the basic forms of Greek architecture, R. Martin nowhere describes them in detail, nor is there a good general illustration of either.

On the other hand he is expansive, if not altogether convincing, on the origin of the Doric style in Sicily and South Italy and on the importance of Ionia in creating standards generally. Here he was a little unlucky, since after he wrote the French edition, which has not been corrected, appeared in 1968, it has become known that the first big temple, at the Isthmian sanctuary near Corinth, had a surrounding colonnade as early as the first big temple in Samos. J. Charbonneau too insists on the importance of

Ionia, this time for sculpture; but he does not argue his case and is too prone to fine-sounding generalizations: what, for example, is the meaning of this dictum about the introduction of pediment: "Much more original than the early heraclid group on the Caryatid pediment, this composition may well reflect the dialectic of Solon, but it is also tinged with the Orientalizing glimmer of the epic?"

The bibliography (with 418 entries) is disproportionately full and erudite, and without comments on the items listed is out of so much use to those who are not themselves specialists. The list of illustrations gives brief descriptions, dates, museum numbers, dimensions, sources of photographs, and for Attic vases references to Beazley. Some of this information—dates and measurements particularly—would be handier in the captions, but presumably it was thought more elegant to put it in the appendix. For the same reason, though all the illustrations have their mention in the text, these mentions do not include the number of the illustration if it is not more than a page or two away. The "glossary-index" is both convenient and informative. There are four maps: the two entitled "Main producing and importing centres of Greek pottery" are misleading or even inaccurate, and the other two could easily have been combined.

This translation is sometimes a little off-key, probably because the translators are not familiar with the subject, and there are a few troublesome, mostly produced and, if read on a table or bench, should wear well.

Is it awful or isn't it?

G. R. URBAN with
MICHAEL GLENNY (Editors):
Can We Survive Our Future?
399pp. Bodley Head, £3.

ROBERT M. IRVING and
GEORGE B. FRIDDLE (Editors):
Crises
Readings in Environmental Issues and
Strategies.
354pp. Macmillan, £5.

G. R. Urban's symposium consists of twenty-three edited interviews which were originally broadcast on Radio Free Europe during 1970-71. He and Michael Glenny talked to historians, scientists, economists, planners and "futurologists" about where we are now, how we got there, and how we may deal with some of the problems we will face in the next century or so.

The interviews are arranged under three headings. "The Impact of Science on the Moral Options of Man", "Growth, Controls and Responsibility", and "Choosing the Future". The impact of the first few chapters, interviews with Arnold Toynbee, Philip Rieff, Nigel Daspitche, Werner Haisenberg, Jacques Ellul, should be considerable, particularly on people such as Michael Alsbury's young "Eco-Activists" for here is perspective, and wise discussion of the possible, in terms of man's past revolutions in thought, religion and politics. There are solutions to very nearly all of today's environmental threats: the question is really, Are we capable of implementing them, psychologically and politically? Are the communist states more likely to succeed where "rascals" capitalists states show signs of failing? Not necessarily. Perhaps the worst thing that could happen would be the triumph of the New Barbarians, those who would discard all human experience and with it the knowledge necessary for guiding, and

leading that most dangerous animal, technological man.

Louis Armand speaks on "Restoring Man's Symbiosis with Nature", and later, Edward Shils expresses his views on "The Social Control of Technology". How can technocrats and pseudo-experts best be restrained? Mr Shils offers no self-restraint, disclosure and an informed public very persuasively. He clearly spells out his conviction that the belief that nothing is beyond human powers is in fact damaging to human life, and that the "belief that institutions can be dissolved and abolished and that life will then really begin... is not true. Such complete emancipation from the past and from the limitations of human capacities... can only end in tears."

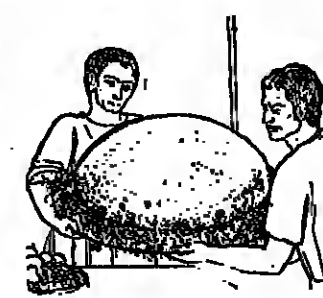
Michael Shanks on "The Benefits and Social Costs of Growth" is rather depressing. He sees that the new institutions of our society tend to acquire a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, and that a

major problem is producing responsive institutions and government. These have to hold the balance between the benefits—greater choice and so on—of modern technology, and their impact on the well-being of people. But, he says, we do not really have a choice between the high rate of economic expansion sought by governments and maintaining social stability, and he goes on to argue that only in a climate of economic expansion is the social adjustments forced on us by technology possible and tolerable.

In the third part of the book, Bernard Cazes, of the Commissariat Général du Plan, talks on "The Opportunities and Pitfalls of Future-Oriented Research", and talks a lot of sense. Maurice Duverger and Théo Lefèvre speak, roughly, for and against the idea that the effects of technology will cause a convergence between communist and capitalist societies and modes of organization and government. Oslip Flechtelheim talks about Marxism and the Third Road, and puts forward what he thinks is a hopeful alternative. With twenty-three authors to choose from one can only skim and snatch at a few of the ideas presented in this stimulating anthology.

It is certainly inevitable that out one of the twenty-six pieces catches the eye. "Water: A Social History" by Paul Brooks, published in 1968. Are we, with more and more buyers, going to have to deal with this particular problem one day? Is it here already in the District without our realizing it? Paul Brooks, in *Kondra*, pointed out that the fact that the country's progress has been inhibited by the fact that so many of the best brains were channelled into Classics rather than into technology or sociology might have equipped better servants—or industrialists. So we are bound to be a reaction to Latin and Greek.

It is also, of course, true that the number of really interesting subjects has increased during this century and it is inevitable that cleverer and more educated children should be drawn to other as well as traditional subjects. Lotteries, an element of snobbery may have entered into it. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the school system has tended to be a living and developing subject (unless the changes of Butler and Kennedy at Rugby, and Arnold at Rugby, are taken into the spirit in which the languages were taught) the State Schools, partly as a result of the size of their resources, often maintained a more conservatively traditional curriculum which concentrated on grammar and was all too apt to show any enthusiasm or sensitivity for abroad. "The explanation, followed by the thought: 'Anyway, they were the State Schools, partly as a result of the size of their resources, often maintained a more conservatively traditional curriculum which concentrated on grammar and was all too apt to show any enthusiasm or sensitivity for abroad."



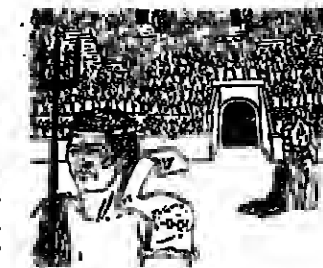
rex et hospites in aula cenabant.
cena, quam coqui lictor
paraverat, sumptuosam erat.
servi magnam curam in
mucum ponebant.



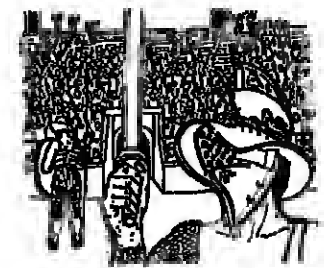
ex quo, quod servi in mensam
paraverat, sumptuosam erat.

No more Latin...

BY R. M. OGILVIE



postquam gladiatores
Pompeianos salutaverunt,
Pompeianum plauravit.



operatore murmuravit
invidiam, quod murmuravit
neque victores erant.

Strip cartoons from the Cambridge Latin Course, published by the Cambridge University Press.

The seeds of development

STANLEY JOHNSON:
The Green Revolution
218pp. Hamish Hamilton, £2.75.

Of all the good causes into which international efforts are channelled by the United Nations, agriculture probably has the least popular appeal. The development of a new strain of wheat or the improvement of methods of cattle-breeding neither stirs the imagination, like an impressive feat of engineering, nor involves the emotions, like a campaign for birth control. "The current," grain revolution," is almost entirely devoid of glamour. In netting as its voluntary public relations officer, Stanley Johnson has wisely eschewed enthusiasm and cynicism and sometimes cruel pictures. Apart from the grunting, but inevitable, statistics, Mr Johnson, in his selected case studies from Latin America, Africa and Asia, has, on the whole, created a vivid and convincing impression of the problems and achievements of United Nations agencies in the developing world.

It is essentially a personal account of Mr Johnson's own encounters with various personalities, both devoted and bloody-minded. His heroes are men like Norman Borlaug, who transformed the wheat production system in Mexico, and Rafael Salas, who did the same for rice production in the Philippines. But, as the latter case demonstrated, as soon as the dynamic pioneer's influence was removed, things tended to revert to the same primitive condition: having briefly become exporters of rice, the Philippines were importing it again in 1971.

Although natural circumstances can often be blamed, so can human failure to overcome them. Obsession and conservatism are deeply ingrained. The farmers of El Salvador refused to believe that new strains of maize had to be planted in rows six inches apart simply because they had done it in their own way for centuries. The fishermen on the Voka lake in Ghana refused to venture into the middle waters because traditionally they have always

been inshore fishers. In many cases, reluctance to depart from ancestral practices had been encouraged by the colonial masters. Mr Johnson is bitter about the obscurity of the British in particular, and also of the Americans and the Chinese.

Mr Johnson asked a British expatriate in Tanzania what a celebration of the British withdrawal meant to the Africans: the answer was simple: "A booze-up." A French tobacco-grower in Dahomey was more thoughtful but no less cynical: "If one's honest, one has to admit that these countries have no chance of ever catching up with Europe, let alone America." An American fleet supervisor in the Central American Fisheries Project summed up his judgment equally frankly: "The only good fishermen are those who get drunk and go to whore-houses." Mr Johnson encountered the same sadistic resignation among the supposed beneficiaries of the United Nations development projects. In a post office in Ghana he found a clerk putting stamps of random denominations on

letters for abroad. "The explanation, followed by the thought: 'Anyway, they were the State Schools, partly as a result of the size of their resources, often maintained a more conservatively traditional curriculum which concentrated on grammar and was all too apt to show any enthusiasm or sensitivity for abroad."

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implicit ambiguity of purpose in the educational attitude to the Classics. What might we be trying to be doing—both at school and at the university? There are essentially two issues. The first is a straightforward linguistic one. Twenty years ago English and modern languages were taught like Classics. Grammar and syntax were paramount. Irregular verbs held a position of honour. But this was clearly wrong. Wrong, because modern languages are spoken languages and not, particularly in the light of the decision to join the EEC, to be taught as such. And wrong because English is not structurally the same sort of language as Latin. It is not inflected and its syntax, although formal in some sense, is very different from Latin. Besides, a living language grows and changes: it is, after all, only a conventional medium of communication. Increasingly, both in state schools and in the independent sector (the Griffiths Committee is due to report shortly), there is a recognition that the emphasis in modern language teaching must be on the oral side in preference to formal grammar.

At the same time, teachers of English seem to be coming to the view that their prime concern should be with the comprehension and appreciation of literature. Yet one does not have to be stuffy and old-fashioned to see that this is already having a serious effect on children's powers of expression. Nor can this deficiency be remedied merely by the painstaking correction of essays. The degree of literacy in primary and preparatory schools is, frankly, frightening. That a cultured boy of thirteen with an IQ of 145 can write in an essay "I would of gone to my grandmother whom lives in the country but having talked of about it to my parents, what I think happened?" is a terrible indictment. Yet if ever there was a time when economy and precision of expression were needed it is now, as we gradually sink beneath an ocean of printed words.

Now, the trend set in motion by both JACT and the Cambridge Classics Project is to teach children to read and enjoy Latin (and Greek) fast. The Cambridge Project involves the minimum of formal grammar and aims to develop a wide reading vocabulary. One of the most influential books to have emerged from the new enthusiasm of JACT (M. G. Balme and M. S. Warman, *Assimilanda*, OUP, 1965) is geared to the comprehension and appreciation of classical literature. English and Classics teaching are moving very much in parallel. But I believe that the formal training in expression and knowledge of the structure of language are basic educational requirements and that there is all the more value in teaching the Latin language in consequence. There is still a lot in what Dryden said: "I have no other way to clear my doubts but by translating my English into Latin, and thereby trying what sense the words will bear in a more stable language."

languages. In that respect they will resemble students of Persian or Chinese. They will have to learn the languages from the start. Most Universities already cater for this, and Oxford is now introducing a course of Latin and Greek honours which presupposes no previous knowledge of Greek. In fifteen years' time it may presuppose no knowledge of Latin either.

Yet there is cause for reflection here, too. As the experience of the Russian teaching during National Service revealed, it was the people who already had, usually through the classics, a linguistic grounding who made the best progress. And the same is true of Oriental Languages at the university. An analysis of the educational backgrounds of all those who got Firsts or Seconds in the main Oriental Languages at Oxford over the past five years shows that 95 per cent of them had passed with high grades at least O level Latin. For most children the ages of ten to fourteen are the most receptive linguistically. How easy is it, really, to acquire from scratch the basic understanding of language, or of a language, at the age of eighteen?

But I have no doubt that the demand to read the subject will remain strong, because of its inherent attraction and importance. Indeed it may recover popularity as it loses the stigma derived from long years of seemingly boring grammar enforced in the past on young children. I think, also, that other subjects such as history and English, at school and at the university, will come increasingly to realize what they have lost by emancipation from the classics and will try to work out a new relationship which will recapture that fruitful continuity of culture. But at the moment we are at the end of one epoch and at the threshold of a new.

R. M. Ogilvie is headmaster of Tonbridge School and was formerly Fellow and Tutor in Classics at Balliol College, Oxford.

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Sub judice

by spirit as intoxicant

leaders, David Du Plessis in particular, and the late Donald Gee in some measure, have been prepared to see these developments as of ecumenical significance, but most Pentecostal sects—some Chilean, Brazilian, and now one Italian group excepted—have been cautious of being drawn into dialogue with the World Council of Churches. Literal biblicism, an ascetic tradition, and profound anti-sacerdotalism continue to distinguish most Pentecostal groups, even if, in some instances, Pentecostal sects have become somewhat less averse in their moral prohibitions, and a little more denominationalized in their organizational arrangements.

Walter J. Hollenweger's erudite survey of Pentecostalism is more concerned with the traditional Pentecostal movements than with the now burgeoning Charismatic movement in the orthodox churches of Christendom. He reviews the growth of these sects since the beginning of this century, when Pentecostal doctrine first acquired stable theological justification sufficient to give rise to separate tongue-speaking movements. His historical survey does not aim to give equal treatment to Pentecostalism in all countries. There is little about Britain and not much about Scandinavia, which is a pity considering that Norway was the first church of European Protestants to ban Pentecostalism. But for totally, where, with more than 200,000 members, the Pentecostals seek together to constitute the largest Protestant body, and for Brazil, he provides perhaps the best readily available historical accounts that we have.

The social significance of Pentecostalism in a country like Brazil is quite different from its significance in the United States or Britain. There, and to considerable extent in Chile (with which Dr Hullenweger does not deal except in passing), Pentecostalism becomes a political force at national level. In the United States, the Ku Klux Klan has always been officially in Church, an institution with few real ties to the community. In Brazil, it is the name of "Jesus" that remains a fraternity of churches. Pentecostalism is not a fringe movement, but the main body of the Protestant sects. Ecclesiology also varies, with all the variants found among the major denominations of Protestantism, from episcopalianism to fundamentalism. In the American Negro groups, the "American Negro Church" is following a conciliatory policy, although even for the "pimpation contemporary pro-

Ever since the first Easter, in the eyes of Europe Jerusalem has been a profoundly Christian city, the physical centre of Christendom (and so of the world), a place of pilgrimage, a place to be right, or pious, and some of ownership has persisted through the centuries and all more or so in 638 the city became and remained an Arab city. In the Middle Ages Europe felt impelled to attempt to wrest ownership from the "infidel Saracen" and always then lingered the feeling that in the natural course of events Jerusalem would return to Christian hands. But in another sense in later years there existed a certain feeling, at least the Protestant ethos and on a more superficial level, that it was necessary to the right ordering of things that the Holy Land was an Arab country and Jerusalem an Arab city. In the popular imagination the Arab peasant on his donkey silhouette against the stony Judean hills was the authentic and direct tradition of the Holy Family.

This has now changed and must have changed irrevocably. Israel has started to ring Jerusalem with housing estates and is thus deliberately "Judaizing" the city, although as Dr Zunder points out, this must leave the Holy Places untouched, the what Arabs, both Muslim and Christians, feared as long ago as 1492—Jewish control of the Holy Place—has now come to pass. The Muslim community fears Jewish claims to the Temple area and looks on the impotent dignity on the immensity of the floods of tourists to the Haram al-Sharif, Israel's sold-guard al-Sharif to Christian sanctuaries and keep an ironic peace during the Christmas celebration.

Dr Zunder rightly

emotional power and was accepted as arguing in the manner of the rabbis, yet fundamentally he was an intuitive thinker. He had the instincts of a seer and was able to express what he saw with the confidence of a prophet and with the imaginative resourcefulness of a poet. It has been well said that "it speaks" about God with any degree of adequacy: one must be a poet or prophet or mystic. "Paul, like other poets, prophets and mystics, has the religious sense of logic or of rational coherence. He never uses words like 'possibly,' 'probably' or 'perhaps'."

In this respect, and maybe in other also, Malcolm's temperament or nature would say his genius resembles Paul's. I, on the other hand, have

Different as the collaborators may be, their aim is united in this elegant, produced volume: to whet, not satisfy, curiosity in the "small, bald, bandy-legged, big-nosed man, who sometimes had the face of an angel."

Books received

Art and Craft

KIRBY, KENNETH. *The Cooper and his Trade*. 192pp plus 105 plates. A. and C. Black, £2.25.

Coming from a family of coopers, the author himself took up the trade and so writes of it with a craftsman's authority. It is a dying trade for the wooden barrels are replaced, except for spirits, by glass and metal. Kenneth Kirby gives an individual touch to his account of the cooper's work by telling of his own initiation as a young apprentice, and in the latter half of his book provides a history of the craft from ancient times, with a number of attractive illustrations.

Astronomy

BART, D. A. *Mathematical Astronomy for Amateurs*. 143pp. Newton Abbott: David and Charles, £2.75.

Although there are many popular books on descriptive astronomy, there are far too few which give the simple rules for the calculations which always arise in any serious work. E. A. Bart's book deals with the principles involved in problems on Time, the Celestial Sphere, the movements of the Earth, Moon and planets, and some stellar topics. The author's considerable experience as an instructor is well shown in his simple approach to these problems, using nothing more than school arithmetic and geometry, and aided by large clear diagrams. There are occasional practical exercises and worked examples, with thirty pages of selected examples at the end of the book. This work is not only suitable for the

serious student, but it also covers the mathematical parts of the syllabus of the "O" level G.C.E. examination in astronomy and will thus be of value to teachers.

Biography and Memoirs

WEIR, MOLLY. *Red Foot Forward*. 207pp. Hutchinson, £1.75.

Shoes Were for Sunday, Molly Weir's first book, left its narrator facing, along with the end of childhood, the void left by the death of the Grammie who had ruled and irradiated the Glasgow tenement in which she was brought up. Its sequel carries her on through adolescence to her first jobs as a shorthand typist with phenomenal speeds and to the first hints of a new career in journalism and acting.

There are no great happenings and there is no need for them. When the appetite is eager and the palate clean, Hallowe'en, the church dance and the Girl Guide concert are drama enough. Miss Weir has an eye for evocative detail and a lack of sentimentality that puts the breath of life into her re-creation of tough, salty downtown Glasgow. She makes clear, too, the distinction between poverty and misery which is not always grasped by the more fortunate. In her home there was endless patching and mending and making do, but there was a penny for the Saturday morning pictures and best clothes for Sunday.

Economics

WHITTINGTON, GREGORY. *The Prediction of Profitability*. 253pp. Cambridge University Press, £4 (paperback, £2.40).

Companies engaged in manufacturing and distribution from 1948 to 1960 and quoted on the Stock Exchange were analysed by their published figures for predictions of profitability and relationships between liquidity, credit given, changes in stocks, and other short-run aspects of company finance. The data collected and analysed by the NIESK and the Statistics Division of the Board of Trade (as it then was), on painstaking analysis by Whittington and his co-authors, do not on the whole bear out widespread public, economists', and businessmen's notions about effects of squeezes on liquidity, stocks, and many other elements of firms' financial and operating problems. Tables and text alike provide valuable facts and correctives for everyone concerned in profit-making and profit-distributing.

History

POYNTER, DIDIE. *Medicine 300-1929*. THOMAS, J. M. *Shopping 1721-1900*. WHITTING, J. R. S. *Agriculture 1730-1872*.

WOOD, ROBERT. *Equitativism 1800-1900*. Unnumbered leaves. Evans. Paperback, £2.25 each.

Four more titles in a series intended to help the primary and secondary school teacher of history to enlarge the subject by showing facsimiles of relevant documents, printed and manuscript. Mixing eighteen inches by twelve, the unavailability of the books may be no disadvantage in the schoolroom, where they can be exhibited on a blackboard or spread out on the desk. A few pages of introductory matter and a catalogue of the items precede each collection of facsimiles, which are varied and imaginative in choice, and very clearly reproduced.

SANKHEDER, BRUNO. *Moham. Sumbhal. A Historical Survey*. 92pp plus 12 plates. Delhi: Kumar, Rs.20.

The ancient city of Sumbhal in Moradabad District has long fallen into obscurity, but its story presents a tapestry of Hindu and Muslim history in Uttar Pradesh. Local tradition deems it an "eternal city" which has always existed, and has continued to survive in spite of savage sieges, razings to the ground, and devastating changes of fortune. It is mentioned in the Puranas. It formed part of Ashoka's empire. In folklore, it was Pribh Raj's capital, when the Chauhan kingdom was desperately resisting the onslaughts of Sultan

Mahmud of Ghazni. Fiercely contested between the Lodis and the Shari dynasty of Jaunpur, it was given by Babur to Humayun as an appanage at the time of the Mughal conquest. During the decline of Imperial power, the East India Company and Jawahar Lal Nehru fought for its possession. It had long been a centre both of Hindu and Muslim culture; the partisans of each occasionally indulged in bloody communal riots. But both creeds joined together in 1857, and Sumbhal became a strong centre of revolt against British rule. It is at this point that Mr Sankheder's narrative breaks off. He has told the story well, with careful recourse to original sources. But the value of this monograph suffers from the omission of three essentials—an index, a bibliography, and a site-map.

Local History

OWEN, DUDLEY M. *Ely Records*. A Handlist of the Records of the Bishop and Archdeacon of Ely. 89pp. Mare Hatch Fund, £2.50.

The diocesan records here listed and described by the archivist in the Bishop of Ely are now in the University Library at Cambridge; a further collection at Ely is to be the subject of a second volume. The introduction tells the history of the Ely records, an all too familiar tale of former losses and neglect. In fact a quantity of documents was sold in the eighteenth century to a Cambridge grocer, from whom a fellow of Trinity retrieved 189 pounds' worth of them at a cost of £11s. 6d. Students who wish to refer to these records will find that the present classified list facilitates the University Library shelf-marks.

Portsmouth Record Series. Borough Sessions Papers, 1653-1688. A Calendar compiled by Arthur J. Willis, and edited by Margaret J. Hunt. 212pp. Phillimore for the City of Portsmouth, £4.25.

The compilers of this calendar give considerably more detail about the documents than is usually to be found in such cases. A large and carefully produced volume which includes some facsimiles of documents, and an index, it launches a new series designed to identify and make more widely accessible the sources for the history of Portsmouth.

Religion

BRANDON, OWEN. *The Pastor and his Ministry*. 116pp. SPCK, £1.50.

In his preface Owen Brandon says that two people who read his manuscript offered the criticism that the book covered too many questions too briefly. There is substance in the criticism, and it could be extended by noting that all the time with whatever subject he may be dealing Mr Brandon raises questions, and perhaps because he is himself a trained psychologist, that science increases the perplexity. But all the questions matter very much. To give one example. It is quite true that "other religions" suggest problems, but it is possible for a person to be an expert in them, and remaining a Christian himself, to leave the problems on one side. Or, the liberal theologians raise problems, but it is possible to leave them in the common-rooms and get on with the work of the parish. All the same, the book has its value because even if it does not have all the answers, its thoughtful quality makes it stimulating.

Social Studies

BRITISH 1972. *An Official Handbook*. 318pp. HMSO, £1.80.

Misgivings that the habit of reading is being lost to the seductions of the home out by this latest edition of the annual handbook from the Central Office of Information. The average viewing time is computed at nearly one-third of a week, yet are registered borrowers from libraries, and in 1970 more than 23,000 new books were published, with a further 10,000 reprints or new editions. In all aspects of the national statistics are as nearly up to date as possible for teachers, an inserted

supplement on Northern Ireland reviews the situation up to mid-November. Revised economic statistics show the United Kingdom as ranking third in world trade with over 11 per cent of the total, taking more than 20 per cent of the world's primary products and exporting over 12 per cent of its manufactured goods.

DAVIES, WYNDHAM. *Health or Health Service?* Reform of the British National Health Service. 128pp. Charles Knight, £2.

Wyndham Davies has written one more criticism of the National Health Service: he bases some of his strictures on the wasteful methods of spending money which he has seen in the financing of the present service. He tries, with some success, to present the quality and type of medical service which a patient requires not only from his own doctor but from the hospital service as well. He makes no attempt to conceal his dislike of too much government interference, which may lead to control, in any medical service. Many will agree with much of what Dr Davies has to say, but not all will be able to accept his robustly conservative line.

JAIN, SAHAR C. *Indian Munner*. His Social Origin and Career. 203pp. Bombay: Sunanda, Rs.30.

SHRIMALLI, K. L. *A Search for Values in Indian Education*. 130pp. Delhi: Vikas, Rs.22.

At first sight, there might seem little in common between these two books. The former is a scientifically planned sociological inquiry into the kind of men there are very few women who now exercise managerial responsibilities in the India of today. It breaks new ground, and it can be commended. The latter is a collection of articles and lectures by one of the most respected of educational administrators, all of which deal, from one point of view or another, with the shortcomings of the existing university system as a force for good in society. As might be expected from such a stimulus, the individual papers are eloquently written, and informed with penetrating observation tempered by a lively sympathy for the frustrations and difficulties of the rising generation. Where the two books meet is here: Sugar C. Jain shows that university education, and a great deal of it, is an almost indispensable qualification for a career culminating in managerial rank. Yet without the additional advantage of a professional, or a traditionally wealthy, home environment, often based on industry or commerce, few university graduates can hope to reach this level. The problem of the growing numbers of educated unemployed is already very serious. Only very few of them—and those backed by family advantages—can look forward to a job which will entail satisfaction and self-fulfilment. In such a situation, Dr Shrimalli argues, the universities must change their outlook and convince their students that a degree is something more than a job-ticket. If this leads to more selectivity and lesser numbers, the situation must be faced. Dr Jain shows that careers in management are likely to grow more numerous, and that an advanced university education may not for ever be an indispensable qualification for them. But meanwhile, the outlook for the great majority of Indian university graduates is grim, unless they are ready to throw themselves into much-needed social service, with small prospect of financial reward.

The earlier sections deal with general issues and with the contributors write objectively with insight. The chapter on the Soviet Union, for example, recognizes both the qualities placed on the practice of socialism in the socialist countries and the need in Africa to design new ideological needs—a recognition of the sympathetic assessment of the book, of Tanzania's policies. (Incidentally, there have been worth pointing out similarities between the Declaration and the Declaration in Zambia.) The chapter on the Chinese approach to the continent, which is potentially more critical for the Africans (and for Russia).

Transport

INNES, HANCOCK A. *A History of The Canadian Pacific Railway*. 365pp. Newton Abbott: David and Charles, £4.50.

The CPR, completed in 1885, was much more than just an immensely long trans-Canada line extending from Montreal to Vancouver (to take this trip is to experience rail travel at its most exciting). It was a political necessity and the philosophy behind its construction is but one of the many aspects discussed by the late Harold Innes in his formidable book first published in 1923 and now reprinted. It is a solid, well-documented piece of work, Innes's footnotes sometimes drive his text into a tight corner but why on earth did no one else do it? Innes in his foreword to the new edition says the book was first published

The highly pertinent local Peter George in which he reviews the current method of railway projects like the CPR and read both before and after the Innis.

Travel

FELIPPS, FRANCES. *People*. 258pp. Angus and Robertson, £1.95.

Frances Felipps has followed very successful travel books of East Asian countries with this of her adventures—which were various—in India. She travelled rough, sleeping on way platforms, accepting wherever it was offered, falling at Lucknow, getting assaulted in Calcutta, and trying to find clues to the elusive enigma which is India. She demonstrates, was mischievous and narrowly beating-up. She shared the work of Kashmiri peasant farmers; she saw the "underside". It came to her to discover the deficiency of her treatment by people of South-East Asia, was a serious disability in posing her to very unpleasant scenes and enduring a vigilance which became an intolerable strain. Her variation, her gift of describing her warm humanity makes it most enjoyable.

World Affairs

Africa 1971. Compiled and by the editorial staff of *Africa*. 440pp. New Africa Publishing Co. Distributed by Mole and £4.50.

This volume was prepared by anti-Obote coup in Uganda although the section on the political system, but they read with reservations. It has a timely intimation that position was by no means able and refers to "an under of violence". In general the clearly written and well three they were presumably originally in French) section on individual countries are per and well-humoured. That for example, daily troubles in the old West before the North-South divide the background against the Biafran secession and was seen.

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